# ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS

## THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS IN TRANSLATION

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# ARNOBIUS OF SICCA

# THE CASE AGAINST THE PAGANS

NEWLY TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

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# ARNOBIUS OF SICCA

## THE CASE AGAINST THE PAGANS

# BOOK FIVE

## Jupiter Elicius, Attis, and the Mysteries

*The myth of Jupiter Elicius.*

1. Well, let us grant that all those things have been handed down and ⟨brought in⟩ to the disgrace of the gods by the poets in a spirit of jest. But what of those things which are found in histories, weighty and serious and carefully done, and which are contained in the hidden mysteries handed down—are these mere rogueries devised by the poets? If they seemed to you such absurd stories, you would hardly accord some of them the greatest[1] popularity, nor, as the years rolled by, would you celebrate them as joyous festivals, nor would you preserve them in your sacred ceremonials as harking back to actual events.

Now, then, following a policy of moderation, I shall mention only one example out of so many: the one in which that Jupiter himself is brought out on the stage as an unwary dunce, the dupe of verbal ambiguities.

In the second book of Antias[2]—lest any one think us fabricating accusations, bent on slander—the following tale is recorded: King Numa,[3] not possessing a knowledge of how to avert evil portended by a thunderbolt and being desirous of learning, on the advice of Egeria[4] concealed at a fountain twelve chaste youths who were supplied with fetters, so that when Faunus[5] and Martius Picus[6] should come there[7] to drink—for here they usually came for water—they might fall upon them, seize and bind them. But to expedite matters,

the king filled a goodly number of cups with wine and mead and placed them about the approaches to the fountain as a crafty snare in the path of their coming. They, following their usual custom, yielding to their thirst for drink, came to the familiar resting place. But the moment they had gotten a whiff of the cups fragrant with sweet-smelling liquors, they preferred the new to the old. Eagerly they rushed at them. Overpowered by the sweet savor of the drink, they imbibed too freely, and, becoming drowsy, fell asleep. Then the twelve piled upon the sleepers, cast chains around them in their drunken stupor. And when the latter had come to, they forthwith instructed the king by what means and sacrifices Jupiter could be "elicited" [8] to earth; and the king in possession of this knowledge performed the sacred act on the Aventine, "elicited" Jupiter down to the earth, and requested of him the proper ritual of expiating omens.

After long hesitation, Jupiter said,[9] "You shall expiate lightning omens with a head." [10]

"With an onion head," [11] the king said in turn.

"With a man's," Jupiter rejoined.

"But with a head of hair," the king replied.

"With a living one," [12] the god protested.

<"With a maena,"> [13] Pompilius continued.

Then Jupiter, tripped up by the ambiguities set forth, exclaimed as follows: "You have tricked me, for I had decided that evils portended by lightning should be averted by human heads, not by a *maena*, by hair, by an onion. But now that your cleverness has outmaneuvered me, observe the practice which you wished and always undertake the expiation of lightning portents by those means which you have stipulated." [14]

*Criticism of this myth.*

2. What to take up first, what last, or what should be passed over in silence, is not easy to say nor does any amount of reflection clarify matters. Everything in this story is so concocted and construed as to make it ridiculous, so much so as to make it really incumbent on you to endeavor to have it thought false, even if true, rather than to want it to be taken for the truth, and to suggest, as it were—and this not without disrespect to the divinity itself—that we are in the presence of something extraordinary.

What, then, is it you say, you—?[15] Are we to believe that that Faunus and Martius Picus, if they really belong to the gods and are possessed of that eternal and immortal nature, were once upon a time parched with thirst, and to be able to cool the heat in their veins, went[16] to the flowing fountains? Are we to believe that seduced by wine and enticed by the sweetness of mead, they guzzled the deceitful cups so long that they even got into danger of becoming drunk? Are we to believe that shackled by sleep and immersed in deep slumber's oblivion, they gave earthly creatures an opportunity to put them in bonds? On what parts, moreover, were those bonds flung so as to tie them? Did they have any substance, or did they have hands formed of hard bones, so that they could be bound up by fetters and restrained by the tying of knots? I do not insist on asking whether they were able to say anything as they staggered in their drunken stupor; or whether, even though Jupiter was unwilling, or, rather, unwitting, any one could have made known the ritual for bringing him down to earth. This only I should like to hear: why, if Faunus and Picus are really divine in origin and power, they themselves did not rather answer the query of Numa,

the answer to which he sought to hear, at a greater risk, from Jupiter himself?

Or did Jupiter alone have knowledge of this thing? Is it upon him[17] that thunderbolts fall so that he has need of training in some knowledge to avert dangers impending? Or, while he himself hurls these flashes of lightning, is it the business of others to know what means are best adapted to temper his wrathful moods? As a matter of fact it is most stupid to believe that he himself is an expert in the means by which that can be averted which he has decided should take place in human affairs through the hurling of the thunderbolt. This amounts to saying: "By that kind of ceremony you will appease my wrath; and if ever by flashes of lightning I shall make known that something is about to happen, then do this and that, <so that> what I have decided should be done may be cancelled and voided and made to vanish <in virtue>[18] of these sacrificial rites."

3. But let us grant that, as is said, Jupiter himself ordained ways and means against himself by which properly to oppose his own purposes. Are we to believe further that a god of such great power was drawn down to earth and, standing with a miserable man[19] on a petty hillock, entered into a disputatious wrangle? And what divine thing was it, I ask, which forced Jupiter to abandon the great task of propelling the universe and to place himself at the behests of mortals? Salted meal, incense,[20] blood, scent of burning boughs, and the mutterings of dread words? And were all these things more powerful than Jupiter so that they forced him against his will to obey instructions or to surrender of his own accord to their tricks? Tell me, will the conclusion be believed [or] that the son of Saturn was so lacking in foresight that he set down the terms by which he himself was to be ensnared

through equivocations or that he did not know the future, the means by which the craftiness and shrewdness of a mortal would make sport of him?

"You shall expiate," says he, "lightning omens with a head."

The utterance is incomplete and the sense of the statement lacks full precision. Really, one should know whether Diespiter ordains said expiation to be carried out by using a ram's head, a pig's, or an ox's, or some other kind. And when he had not yet specifically settled this point and the decision was still pending and not yet determined, how could Numa know that Jupiter would say the head of a man, ⟨so that⟩ he could anticipate, head him off, and steer his uncertain and ambiguous words into an onion head?

4. Well, perhaps you will say that the king was divine: could he be more divine than Jupiter himself? A mortal man,[21] anticipating what Jupiter would say, outwitted ⟨a god⟩: was the god unable to know how the man was preparing to outwit him? Is it not, then, patent and clear that these are the feeble fancies of puerile inventions, by which a deft wit is accredited to Numa and the greatest lack of intelligence brought in for Jupiter? What betrays so little intelligence as to have been caught by the cleverness of a man's wit, and when you are annoyed at being tricked, to give in to the will of him who bested you and to set aside the antidote which you had offered? If there was a reason and a certain natural propriety why the averting of an evil portended by lightning should be undertaken with a human head, I do not see why the suggestion of an onion head was made by the king; if, however, it could have been settled by an onion head also, there was a case of greedy lusting for human gore. And so on both sides they contradict them-

selves: on the one hand, Numa plainly did not want to know what he wanted[22] and Jupiter evidently was cruel since he said that he wanted what could have been taken care of by a *maena* and an onion head to be averted with human heads.

### *The myth of Attis.*

5. In Timotheus,[23] a man not unknown among theologians, and among others, too, equally learned, the following story is told[24] concerning the origin of the Great Mother of the Gods and concerning her sacrifices as dug up out of obscure books of antiquities and from the most esoteric mysteries, as he himself writes and implies.

In[25] the territory of Phrygia there is, he says, a rock of an unheard-of desolation throughout, the name of which is Agdus, so called by the natives of that region. Stones taken from it, as Themis had enjoined by an oracle,[26] were thrown on the earth, empty of mortals, by Deucalion and Pyrrha;[27] and from these, along with the others, this Great Mother,[28] as she is called, was shaped and given divine breath. Her, resting and sleeping on the very crest of the rock, Jupiter craved for himself with incestuous desires. But in spite of his continued efforts, he failed to accomplish what he had proposed to himself and was defeated. Then the rock conceived and, with many groans going before, in the tenth month, Acdestis[29] is born, so called from his mother's name. In him there was insuperable strength and uncontrollable ferocity of disposition, a lust mad and furious and stimulated by both sexes. Violently he plundered, laid waste, wherever his monstrous spirit led him. He cared not for the gods nor men, nor did he think anything more powerful than himself; he despised earth, heaven, and the stars.

6. When in the councils of the gods the question was

brought up again and again how his insolence could be either tamed or suppressed, Liber,[30] the rest holding back, takes the task upon himself. With most potent wine he fortifies a spring which that fellow knew well and where he had been wont to slake his burning thirst roused by sport and hunting. On an occasion when he felt the need of it, Acdestis runs hither to drink. He gulps down an immoderate draught into his eager veins. Overcome by this unaccustomed experience, he sinks into a most profound sleep. Liber lurks nearby in ambush.[31] Over his foot he casts the end of a noose woven cunningly of hairs. When the power of the wine had been slept off, he jumps up violently and, straining hard on the knots he himself, by his own strength, robs himself of that by which he had been ⟨a man⟩. There is an immense flow of blood; this is snatched up and swallowed by the earth; thence suddenly is born a pomegranate tree with apples. Nana,[32] daughter of the king or river Sangarius, gazing in astonishment at the beauty of this fruit, plucks and takes some to her bosom. By this she becomes pregnant. As if she had been ravished, her father shuts her up and tries to have her die of starvation. With apples and other food she is supported by the Mother of the Gods. She labors and is delivered of a child, but Sangarius orders it to be exposed. Somebody finds it and takes it,[33] nourishes it on he-goat's[34] milk, and because Lydia[35] calls people who are handsome thus, or because the Phrygians in their dialect name goats *attagi*,[36] it happened that the boy's name Attis was thus derived. Him the Mother of the Gods loved as none other because he was most superb of countenance. Acdestis ⟨loved⟩ him also, his doting companion in his adolescence and who in the only way remaining bound him to himself by his improper attentions, taking him through the wooded glades and giving him many gifts of wild beasts. These the boy Attis at first boasted were the fruit

of his own toil and labor; later, under the influence of wine, he admits that he is loved by Acdestis and from him receives woodland gifts as rewards. For this reason it is forbidden for those polluted with wine to enter his sanctuary because it betrayed his silence.

7. Then the king of Pessinus,[37] Midas,[38] desiring to win the boy away from so disgraceful an association, plans to give him his daughter in marriage, and so that no one of sinister omen might break in upon their marriage joys, he caused the town to be closed. But the Mother of the Gods, knowing the youth's fate, and that he would be safe among human beings so long as he was free of a matrimonial alliance, to prevent anything untoward from happening, enters the closed city, having lifted its walls with her head, which began to have towers because of this. As for Acdestis,[39] bursting with anger at having the boy torn from him and brought to have interest in a wife, he inspires all the guests with fury and madness. Terror-stricken, the Phrygians cry out "Adore, adore";[40] the daughter of the concubine[41] of Gallus[42] cuts off her breasts, ⟨in emulation of the self-mutilator⟩. Attis snatches the flute which the one who was goading them to fury was carrying, and being himself full of frenzy, and roving about, hurls himself down at last, and under a pine tree mutilates himself.[43]

With the stream of blood his life flits away. From the blood which flowed, a flower springs up, the violet,[44] and entwines the tree. Thence was derived and arose the custom that even now the sacred pines are veiled and garlanded.[45] The maiden who had been the bride, whom Valerius[46] the pontifex writes was named Ia, covers the breast of the lifeless one with soft wool, sheds tears with Acdestis, and slays herself. When she dies, her blood is changed into purple violets. The Mother of the Gods digs under these,[47] from which an almond grows,

signifying the bitterness of burial. She then bears away the pine tree under which Attis had robbed himself of his manhood, to her cave, and about the trunk of the motionless tree, joining in lamentations with Acdestis, she beats and wounds her breast.[48] Jupiter refuses Acdestis' request that Attis might come back to life. But what is possible by concession of fate, this he grants without objecting: that his body should not decay, that his hair should ever grow,[49] that the very smallest[50] of his fingers should live and alone react by continued motion. Satisfied with these favors, Acdestis, it is said, consecrated the body in Pessinus, and honored it with annual rites and with a sacred ministry.[51]

*Criticism of this myth.*

8. If some despiser of the deities and one crazed with a wild sacrilegious heart had intended to revile your gods, would he have the gall to say anything against them more serious than this story brings? And this, as if it were something wonderful, you have reduced to a formal record and, lest time and the long years of antiquity should consign it to oblivion, you have glorified it with honor everlasting! Indeed, what is there asserted or written in it about the gods which, if you should say it about a man of disreputable character and one brought up with all too unrefined training, you would not be subject to a court charge of slander and as a result your wrongs and insults incur hatred accompanied by implacable resentment?

From the stones, you say, which Deucalion and Pyrrha threw, the Mother of the Gods was begotten. O you theologians, you priests of the powers on high! What is this you say? There was no Mother of the Gods anywhere in nature ⟨before⟩ the disaster of the flood? And had not violent down-

pours of rain taken away the whole race of mortals, then there would have been no cause and occasion of her birth? So she owes it to man that she sees herself existing, and it is to the kindness of Pyrrha she owes the fact that she sees herself possessed of substance. And, of course, if this is true, then, too, it will of necessity be most true that she was human, not divine. Assuredly, if it is certain that men trace their birth to that casting of stones, she also must be believed to have been one of us, begotten as she is by means of like causes. For it was an impossible contradiction in nature that from one and the same type of stones and from an identical method of throwing them, some should be allotted immortality, others a human status.

Varro,[52] that famous Roman, outstanding for the broadness of his learning and a thorough investigator of antiquity, in the first of four books of a work which he has left *On the Race of the Roman People,* shows by careful computations that from the time of the deluge, which we have mentioned above, up to the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa,[53] there are not quite two thousand years. If credence be given him, the Great Mother, too, it must be said, is limited to this number's span for her existence.[54] And so the matter boils down to this that she who is said to be the maternal parent of all the gods is not their mother but their daughter; yes, she is just a baby girl, if indeed, we grant that in the eternal succession of ages the gods have been accorded neither beginnings nor endings.

9. But why should we speak of your having besmirched the Mother of the Gods with earthly lowliness, when you have been unable to pause at all for even a moment's interruption from blaspheming Jupiter himself? While the Mother of the Gods was asleep on the highest point of

Agdus, her son, you say, tried stealthily to waylay her chastity as she rested.

Having robbed of their chastity countless maidens and matrons, did Jupiter conceive the hope of an unspeakable lust even against his mother? And from that lustful passion was it impossible for him to be turned away by the revulsion with which nature herself and that inborn common instinct has endowed not only human beings[55] but also many of the animals? Or was filial regard and regard for propriety wanting in him who presides over the Capitols, and in the confusion of his crazed mind was he unable to reflect and realize what crime he was bent upon? But, be that as it may, oblivious of his prestige and majesty, he kept sneaking forward toward that shocking theft, trembling and shaking, holding his breath, walking panicky on tiptoe, and wavering between anxiety and hope, touched her, trying to see how soundly his mother was sleeping and what she would allow.

O abominable representation! O shameful figure of Jupiter ready to attempt a filthy struggle! And so that ruler of the world when, because of his heedlessness and haste he was repulsed from his stealthy foray, turned to the use of force, and since he could not steal his pleasure by cunning, violently attacked his mother, and proceeded most openly to tear down the chastity he ought to have revered? Having struggled, then, a long time with her who would not yield, did he give up—beaten, tamed, overcome?[56]

10. Well, perhaps you will say: The human race shuns and abhors intercourse in this kind of union; but among the gods there is no incest.

And why did his mother fight back her son most bitterly when he was trying to force her? Why did she flee from contact with him as if she were avoiding something for-

bidden in his embraces? If there was nothing wrong in the matter, she should have been just as compliant without showing any reluctance, as he was eager to satisfy the cravings of his passion.[57] And, pray, what followed? Tell us!

"In the inner bosom of the stone and in the hard flint a babe was fashioned and given life, destined to be the great Jupiter's offspring."

It is not an easy matter to raise objections in the presence of conceptions so marvellous and so extraordinary! If, however, according to you the human race is sprung and begotten from stones, one is forced to the belief that the stone had generative organs and conceived and with the lapse of time bore pregnant wombs and at last gave birth, travailing in pain, as women do.

That forces our curiosity to inquire: since you say that after ten months issue was given forth, in what womb of the rock was it enclosed during that period? With what foods, with what liquids was it sustained? Or what nourishment could it draw from the hard stone, such as unborn infants normally do from their mothers?

"Not yet," he says, "had he reached the light of day and already he was bellowing and imitating and reproducing his father's thunderings."

And once it was given to him to look upon heaven and day, he attacked and laid waste whatever crossed his path and was confident that he could evict even the gods themselves from heaven's realm. Yes, how cautious and foresighted the Mother of the Gods! She, that she might not load upon herself the hatred stirred up by so insolent a son, or that his bellowing, while still unborn, might not disturb her slumbers or interrupt her rest, took herself away and put far from her the most ruinous venom of that seed and passed it on to the jagged rocks!

11. The tide of opinion flowed back and forth in the councils of the gods: how was that unyielding fierceness to be subdued? And when no other means remained, recourse was had to one unique—that he should be swilled with a great dosage of wine and deprived of his virility through castration. As if, indeed, those who have been subjected to such mutilation of body become less brazen, and as if we do not daily see them becoming more wanton and laying aside every restraint of shame and modesty breaking forth into filthy vileness, making open admission of their abominable conduct.[58]

I should like, however, to have seen—had it been granted me to be born in those times—how that Father Liber, the subduer of the Acdestian fierceness, gliding down from the pinnacles of heaven after the most august session of the gods, bobbing the tails of old nags,[59] braiding flexible nooses, inebriating[60] the pure innocent water with a great quantity of sheer wine; how then, when drunkenness ‹had sunk Acdestis› who had imbibed all too immoderately ‹into a most profound sleep›,[61] he carefully directed his attention to the things that were doomed to perish.

12. Could anyone, even when tainted by a very low opinion of them, say this about the gods? Or if they did occupy themselves with such activities, considerations, cares, would any wise person believe that they were gods or reckon them even among men? Your fellow Acdestis, pray, whose mutilation was to bring security to the heaven dwellers, was he one of the creatures of earth or some one of the gods and endowed with the dignity of immortality? If he was held to be a sharer of our human lot and station, why was he causing so much fear among the deities? If, however, he was a god, how could be he deceived, or how could anything be severed from[62] a divine body? But on this point we raise no question.

He may have been of divine birth, or one of us, if you think it better to say so. Did a pomegranate also spring up from the flow of blood? Or because the earth's power covered in its bosom so great a thing, did it lay hold of the ground with a root, spring up into a mighty tree, shoot forth branches loaded with wild pomegranate blossoms and in a moment of time bear mellow apples, perfectly and completely ripe? And because these sprang from red blood, is their color, therefore, purple[63] tinged with a touch of golden light?[64] Say also that they are for this reason juicy, for this reason wine-tart, because they derive their origin from the blood of one soaked in wine,[65] and you have completed a right pretty tale!

O Abdera,[66] Abdera, what opportunities <would you give> to mortals for laughing at you if you had concocted such a tale! All the fathers[67] tell it and proud states peruse it, but you are judged to be a nitwit and most hopelessly stupid.

13. "Through her bosom," he says, "Nana conceived a son from an apple."

The explanation is self-evident: where rocks and hard stones give birth, there of necessity apples also have the generative faculty.

"The Berecyntian[68] fed the imprisoned girl on acorns and figs."

Properly and rightly, for she who was made a mother by a fruit ought to have lived on fruit.

"After the offspring was delivered, Sangarius ordered it to be cast far away."

What he had long before believed to have been divinely conceived, he disdained to recognize as the offspring of his dear daughter![69]

"The infant was brought up on he-goat's[70] milk."

What a story, ever hostile and most obnoxious to the male

sex, in which men not only lay aside their manly sex but even male animals become mothers!

"He was outstanding for his singular beauty and his handsomeness was something to talk about."

It is really something that the stench of the goat did not make people shun him and run away!

"The Great Mother loved him."

If as a grandmother, her grandson, there is nothing unusual in that; but if it was as the theaters blare out, the love[71] is infamous and scandalous.

"Acdestis also was his lover and gave him generous gifts from the hunt."

A half-man could not, it is true, be a danger to his purity; but is it not easy for the suspicious to guess what Midas shuddered at?[72]

"The Mother entered in with the very walls."[73]

Here we marvel, indeed, at the mighty powers of the divinity, but then again we blame her for her carelessness because, although she remembered fate's decree, in her heedlessness she laid bare the city to enemies.

"Those celebrating the nuptial vows Acdestis aroused to fury and madness."

If King Midas, who was trying to tie the youth to a wife, had offended him, what had Gallus done, what the concubine's daughter, that he should rob himself of his manhood, she rob herself of the glory of her breasts?[74]

14. What have you to say, you gentiles, you pagans devoted to beliefs of this sort? When such things are put forth, are you not seized with shame and do you not blush in the presence of such indecencies? We are eager to hear and learn from you something worthy of the gods, but no—you keep on handing out stories about mutilations, ragings,

blood, mad frenzies, suicides of maidens, and flowers and trees produced from the blood of the dead.[75]

When you read through such stories, I ask, do you not have the impression that you are listening to girls at the loom beguiling the boredom of a tedious task, or old women[76] trying hard to distract credulous children, and giving out all sorts of fiction under the guise of truth?

"Acdestis spoke with Jupiter to restore life to his beloved. Jupiter refused assent because he was prevented by fates more powerful. But not to be completely hardhearted, he granted one favor: the body was not to undergo any putrefaction, the hair was to continue to grow out, the smallest of the fingers alone was to live in the body, alone was to show constant motion."

Is there anyone who will admit this or support and yield belief to the view that hair grows on the dead;[77] that a part ⟨did not⟩ perish and that freed from the law of putrefaction his mortal body remains even to the present?

*It is the pagans, not the Christians, who are at fault.*

15. Long ago we might have urged you to test this point if it were not equally stupid to say such things and to demand proofs of them. At any rate this story is false and contains not a particle of truth in it. It matters not to us on whose account you claim the gods have been driven from the earth; whether it is consistent and based on firm belief or, on the contrary, is fashioned with deceit and somehow is a false fabrication. It is enough for us who have today undertaken to make plain that those divinities you bring forth, if they exist anywhere in the world and grow hot with the heat of anger, derive their raging wrath no more from us than from you;[78] and that that story has been reported as a fact and put into written form by

you, and because you wish this to be daily reading and to be handed down for each succeeding generation in the future.

Now if this is true, we see no reason why the gods who dwell in heaven should be said to be angry at us when we have neither passed on against them such infamies nor committed them to writing nor proclaimed them to be a public witness in the celebration of sacred rites. But on the other hand, if, as you think, it is false and a concatenation of deceptive lies, no man can doubt that you are the cause of the offense since you either have permitted certain people to write such things down or, once written down, have suffered them to endure in the memory of the ages.

*The ceremonials of the Mother of the Gods show this.*

16. And for all that, how can you assert that representation not to be true when the very rites you continue to practice at each returning anniversary are evidence that you believe it to be true and consider that it has been verified and found worthy of credence? What, for example, does that pine mean which you always introduce on appointed days into the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods? Is it not symbolic of that tree under which the mad and unhappy youth laid hands on himself and which the parent of the gods consecrated as a solace for her grief? What is the meaning of the fleeces of wool with which you bind and surround the trunk of the tree? Is it not a recollection of the woolens with which Ia covered him who was expiring and believed that she could procure some warmth for his limbs as they grew cold? What is the meaning of the little branches of the tree decked and girt round with garlands of violets? Do they not signify how the Mother adorned the pine with the earliest blossoms, as a

memorial and testimony of her sad misfortune? What is the meaning of the Galli[79] with hair dishevelled, beating their breasts with their hands? Do they not commemorate the sorrow with which the tower-bearing[80] Mother, together with the tearful Acdestis, lamented the boy? What is the meaning of the fasting from bread to which you have given the term *castus*?[81] Is it not an imitation of the time when in the poignancy of her grief the divinity abstained from Ceres' fruit?

17. Or if what we say is not so, speak out, tell us yourselves: those eunuchs and effeminates[82] we see in your midst in the services for that divinity—what is their business there, what their concern, their charge? And why do they like mourners beat their arms and breasts and represent the misfortune of those who experience a woeful lot? What is the meaning of those garlands, those violets, those swathings and coverings of soft wool? Why, finally, is the pine itself, a little while before swaying in the thickets—an utterly inert piece of wood—next set up in the quarters of the Mother of the Gods like some present and most august divinity? Well, either this is the cause—the one we have found in your writings and treatises, and it is clear that you do not practice divine rites but that you are giving a representation of sad events; or, if there is another reason which the obscurity of the mystery has withheld from us, it too, must be involved in the infamy of some disgrace. Indeed, who is there that would believe that there is anything noble in what those worthless Galli put their hands to, what effeminate debauchees perform?

*Various mysteries.*

18. The importance of the subject as well as the task of the defense itself really demand that we should likewise pur-

sue other types of infamy, those which the histories of antiquity supply or those sacred mysteries called "initiations"[83] contain, which you do not divulge to all but hand down to the secrecy of a few. But the countless rituals of these ceremonies and the loathsomeness attaching to each of them prevents us from going through them all one by one. Indeed, to tell the truth, from certain ones we purposely and intentionally turn aside, lest in striving to unfold everything, we be defiled by the pollution of that exposition.[84]

Let us, therefore, pass over Fenta Fatua[85] who is called the "Good Goddess," whom Sextus Clodius[86] in his sixth book in Greek *On the Gods* says was beaten to death by myrtle sticks because without her husband's knowledge she drank a whole jar of wine; and a sign of this becomes evident from the fact that when women conduct divine services in her honor, a covered jar of wine is placed there and it is unlawful to bring in myrtle twigs, as Butas[87] writes in his *Causalia.*

But[88] let us also in like manner ignore and say nothing about the dii Conserentes, whom Flaccus[89] among others writes buried ⟨themselves⟩ in the ash which had been made under a pot of entrails.

19. We shall also pass by the wild Bacchanalia[90] bearing in Greek the name of Omophagia[91] in which with pretended frenzy and with sanity of mind set aside, you bind around you snakes, and to show yourselves full of the divinity and majesty of the god, tear asunder with gory jaws the flesh of loudly-bleating goats.[92] And those hidden mysteries of the Cyprian Venus[93] we pass by also, of whom the founder is said to have been King Cinyras,[94] in which those who take[95] them bring stipulated fees as to a harlot and carry away obscene tokens, given them as a sign of the propitious divinity.[96]

Consign to oblivion also the rites of the Corybantes[97] in

which this holy mystery is handed down: a brother[98] was slain by brothers, from the blood of the murdered parsley sprang up—that plant forbidden to be placed on the tables lest the shades of the dead be unappeasably offended. And we also refrain from speaking of those other Bacchanalia in which a sacred secret which must not even be uttered is revealed and communicated to the initiated: how Liber[99] when busy with boyish pranks was torn asunder by the Titans; how he was cut up, limb by limb, and thrown into pots to be cooked; how Jupiter enticed there by the savory odor, came flying to the meal uninvited; and when he discovered the awful thing, overwhelmed the revellers with his thunderbolt and hurled them into the lowest quarters of Tartarus. As evidence and proof of this, the Thracian[100] in his poems handed down the dice, mirror, spinning tops, wheels, and smooth balls, and the golden apples taken from the virgin Hesperides.

*The Sabazian mysteries.*

20. We had in mind to pass by, to leave unnoticed also those mysteries into which Phrygia is initiated, and all that race,[101] except for the fact that the name of Jupiter, inserted by them forbids us cursorily to pass by the wrongs and slanders he undergoes; not that we take pleasure in deriding those shameful mysteries, but in order that it may be made clear to you again and again what wrong you heap upon those whose guardians, champions, worshippers you profess yourselves to be.

Once upon a time Diespiter, they say, when he was seething with wicked passions and with lusts illicit for his mother Ceres—for the inhabitants of that region say she is Jupiter's mother—but not daring to seek by plain force what he had conceived in his lewd desire, contrived some clever strategy

by which to defile his mother without her suspecting any such thing. From being a god he becomes a bull and under the appearance of an animal, concealing reckless design of ambushing her, he suddenly rushes with mad force upon her, unconcerned and unsuspecting; and when his passion betrays his deception, he speeds away, known and recognized. His mother burns, foams, pants, boils with furious wrath, and being unable to repress the howling tempest of her rage, received thereafter the name Brimo[102] from her continued emotion, and she has no concern more urgent than that she should punish the temerity of her son with whatever penalties she can.

21. Jupiter is in trouble, cowed with fear, and cannot think up any means by which to palliate the feelings of the outraged woman. He pleads and pleads and make supplication: the ears of the grief-stricken are closed. The entire galaxy of the gods is delegated to intercede for him: the authority of none is big enough to merit a hearing.[103] At last the son, seeking ways to give satisfaction, hits on the following expedient: he selects a full-blooded ram and mutilates it. Then, sadly approaching his mother with eyes cast down, and as if he had by his own judgment condemned himself, he casts and throws what he had taken, into her lap. She sees the pledge, she takes on a gentler mood and takes an interest in the child she has conceived. After the tenth month she bears a daughter of most fair form, whom the following ages of mortals named sometimes Libera,[104] sometimes Proserpina.[105] When like a wether Jupiter saw her, a picture of health and in the full bloom of life, forgetting what evils and crime and what foolhardiness he had plunged in shortly before, he returns to his former doings; and because it seemed quite impious for a father to consort with his daughter in wifely embrace, he

changes into the fell form of a dragon. He entwines the terrified maiden with his huge coils and in gruesome disguise, sports and caresses her with the gentlest of embraces. As a result she too conceives of most powerful Jupiter, but not on the same terms as her mother, for she bore a daughter resembling herself; but the maiden's issue had the appearance of a bull, a memorial to seduction by Jupiter.[106] Someone will want to know the author of the story: we shall then cite the well-known senarian by the Tarentine[107] which antiquity sings, saying:

The bull begat a dragon and the dragon a bull.

Lastly, the rites themselves and the ceremonials of the initiation itself which bear the name of Sebadia[108] can witness to their truth: in these a golden snake is let down into the bosom of the initiated[109] and taken away again.

*Jupiter is charged with all wickedness.*

22. Here, too, I think it unnecessary to make a long story, going individually through all, and to show what baseness and shame well forth from each in particular. What mortal who possesses even a particle of human feeling would not himself see clearly these things for what they are, how wicked, how filthy, and what ignominies the gods bear from the very mystery's rites and from the unseemly origins of the rites?

Jupiter, it is said, burned with love for Ceres. Why, I ask, has that Jupiter, whoever he is, deserved so ill of you that there is no kind of shame, infamy, no adultery, which you do not heap upon his head as if he were some vile and worthless character? Leda[110] betrayed her marriage obligation: Jupiter is said to be responsible for her guilt. Danae could not protect her virginity: Jupiter is said to have stolen it. Europa

hastened to become a woman: the same one, so the story goes, was the conqueror of her chastity. Alcmene, Electra, Latona, Laodamia, a thousand other mothers and with them Catamitus[111] were robbed of their honor, their chastity: everywhere it is always the same story—Jupiter. Nor is there any kind of depravity in which you do not link his name with the lusts associated with them, so that the wretch simply does not seem to have been born for any other reason at all than that he be a headquarters for crimes, a subject for blasphemy, a sort of open place into which filth of every kind should pour itself in the backwash of the stage.[112] Still, were you to say he had commerce with strange women, this would indeed be wicked but a libellous wrong that could be borne with. Did he not lust even after his mother, even after his daughter, with the passions of a maddened heart,[113] and no filial piety, no reverence for his mother, no dread of the child of his own loins, could keep him from the representation of so foul a thought?

*The stories show Jupiter does not exist.*

23. And so I should like to see Jupiter, that father of the gods, the eternal power of the universe and of men,[114] adorned[115] with oxhorns, shaking his shaggy ears, with his feet compressed into hooves, chewing a cud of green grass, and on his hinder part a tail, hocks, ankles, all smeared with soft dung and bedaubed with intestinal filth. Yes—for this should be mentioned frequently—I should like to see him who turns the stars and who terrifies and frightens nations pale with fear at his thundering, chasing the flocks of wethers, looking over the rams, using that censorial[116] and divine hand with which he was accustomed to shake the gleaming lightnings and to rage with thunderbolts! Then, next, to see him ripping open the insides,[117] and without witnesses, tear-

ing away the membranes, and offering it to his mother, when she was still boiling with rage, as so many fillets of a suppliant for drawing compassion from her; cast down, pale, miserable —faking the torments of pain and to make this plausible, bespattered with the blood of the ram and for a pretense of a wound covered with wool and linen bandages!

And something like this can be heard and read under heaven?[118] And those who deal in these things wish to be thought righteous, holy, and guardians of religion? Is there any greater sacrilege than this, or can any mind be found so imbued with impious ideas as to believe such things or receive them or hand them down in the most secret mystery cults? That Jupiter—whoever he is—if he felt he existed or if he were affected by any sense of wrong—would it not be the proper thing for him, angered and aroused, to take the earth from under our feet, to put out the light of the sun and moon, yes, indeed, to throw all things into one mass as of old?[119]

24. "But," they say, "these are not the rites of our state." Who makes this statement or rejoinder? A Roman, Gaul, Spaniard, African, German, or Sicilian? And what good does it do your cause, if these stories are not yours, while those who make them up are on your side? Or what difference does it make whether you approve them or not, since what are really your own are found to be either equally foul or even of a type of vileness that outdoes theirs?

### *The Eleusinian mysteries.*

Do you want us to consider, for instance, also those divine mysteries which are called Thesmophoria[120] by the Greeks, in which those holy vigils and solemn night watchings[121] were consecrated by the people of Attica? Do you want us, I say, to see what beginnings or what causes they have, so

that we may prove also that Athens itself, pre-eminent in the pursuit of the humane arts, says things as insulting against the gods as do others and that things no less blasphemous are bruited abroad by her than are proposed by the rest of you?

Once, they say,[122] when in the Sicilian meadows Proserpina, not yet a woman and still a maiden,[123] was picking purple flowers and when her eagerness to gather them was calling her hither and thither everywhere through the flowery harvest, the King of the Shades, springing out through a cavern of the deep underworld, seizes and bears off the maiden with him and conceals himself again in the caverns of the earth.

Now when Ceres did not know what had happened and had no idea where in the world her daughter was, she determined to seek her lost one over the whole world. She takes a pair of torches kindled with the fires of Etna[124] and with these she lights her way and hastens to go on her quest in all the regions of the earth.

25. In her wandering[125] on that quest she reaches also the territories of Eleusis.[126] That is the name of a district in the Attic region. There were five aborigines[127] who at that time inhabited these parts, and their names were: Baubo,[128] Triptolemus, Eumolpus, Eubuleus, Dysaules; Triptolemus, the yoker of oxen; Dysaules, the herder of goats; Eubuleus, of swine; Eumolpus, of the fleecy flock, from whom issues the family of the Eumolpidae[129] and is derived that name famous among the Cecropians,[130] and those who afterwards flourished as caduceus-bearers,[131] hierophants, and heralds.

Well, then, that Baubo who we said was an inhabitant of the district of Eleusis, hospitably receives[132] Ceres exhausted by many kinds of evils, waits upon her with gentle courtesies,

begs her to take care of and refresh her body, proffers for quenching her thirst a drink of wine and spelt[133] which the Greeks call *cyceon*. The goddess in her sorrow turns away and refuses the kindly attentions, and her misfortune does not permit her to remember the ordinary demands of health.[134] But the other begs her and urges her,[135] as is usual in such cases, not to refuse her kindness. Ceres remains absolutely obdurate and keeps tenaciously to her unbending austerity. But when this happened several times and her fixed purpose could not be worn out by any attentions, Baubo changes her tactics; and her whom she could not win by earnestness, she decided to make merry by grotesque jests.[136] She returns to the sad goddess, and to the accompaniment of what one ordinarily says to break and moderate the pangs of grief, she uncovers herself. And so the goddess fixes her gaze and feasts her eyes upon this bizarre form of consolation. Then, having become more relaxed, she laughingly takes the drink she had rejected and drains it, and what Baubo's modesty long was unable to accomplish, the indecency of a shameless action brought about.

26. Should there be anyone who thinks that we are giving out wicked calumnies, let him take the books of the Thracian bard[137] which you remind us are of divine antiquity, and he will find that we are neither cunningly inventing anything nor seeking and contriving ways and means for ridiculing their holinesses, the gods. Indeed, we shall adduce those very verses which the son of Calliope uttered in Greek and published abroad among men to be sung through the ages.[138]

> Thus she spake and straightway drew up her garment.
> Then the goddess, casting down the light of her august eyes,
> Softens a little, lays aside her sadness of soul;
> Then takes the cup in her hand, and with a laugh
> Joyfully quaffs down the whole draught of cyceon.

What have you to say, you bright sons of Erechtheus,[139] you citizens of Minerva?[140] A person is eager to know with what eloquent words you will defend such perilous business, or what arts you have to restore persons so afflicted and diseased. Here there is no false indictment[141] and you are not being assailed with a libellous accusation. These well-known[142] verses display the shameful beginnings of your Eleusinia just as the records of ancient literature and even the very formulas with which you answer, when asked in receiving the sacred things:

> Again I have received, placed in the little box.[143]
> I have fasted and have drunk the cyceon. Out of the box have I taken and into the wicker-basket have I put.

27. Well, then, is it not true, as those holy and secret mysteries say, that your gods are kidnapped and kidnap, that they enter into marriages arranged by underhand dealings, that the honor of virginity is snatched from refusing and unwilling maidens? Wrongs that threaten are unknown to them? What has happened to those who have been kidnapped is unknown? They seek for things lost, as human beings do, and, under the brightest light of the sun, they traverse the earth's vastness with lamps and torches? They are afflicted, they grow sick, they take on the squalor of mourners and the marks of wretchedness? And to make them able to turn their attention to foods and the taking of nourishment, neither reason, nor an opportune moment, nor any serious words or respectable courtesy is used, but a disgraceful indecency of the body is shown and those parts of the body exposed which common shame, which the natural law of modesty bids us conceal, which it is not permissible to name among chaste ears without permission, to speak of without first begging pardon?[144]

What, I ask, was there to see, what was there in Baubo which could make a goddess of the female sex wonder and laugh, which, when exposed to the sight and gaze of the goddess, could make her forget her woes and change her with sudden mirth to a gay mood? O the types, the masses of materials we could have brought forward to scorn at and pasquinade, had not respect for decency[145] and the dignity of literature forbidden!

*The Halimuntian mysteries.*

28. I must own that for some time I have been hesitating, looking about, turning my back, doubling Tellenian[146] perplexities, while shame keeps me from mentioning those Halimuntian[147] mysteries[148] in which Greece erects human members in honor of Father Liber and the whole region teems with images of the sort. The meaning of this may perhaps be obscure and the reason for it asked. Whosoever of you does not know, let him learn and marvel and with reverent care ever preserve such great things in the purity of his heart!

While Liber, the Nysian[149] and Semelian,[150] so the story goes, still lived among men, he conceived the wish of becoming acquainted with the gods below and to investigate what all went on in the realm of Tartarus. Now this desire of his was impeded by some difficulties because through ignorance of the route he did not know where to go and proceed. A certain Prosumnus[151] turns up, a scoundrel who loved the god and who was much given to wicked lusts. He promises to point out the gate of Dis and the approaches to Acheron if the god will [also][152] be agreeable and suffer himself to be abused by him. The god agrees and swears that he will put himself in his power and at his disposal, but only after his return from

the underworld, upon realizing the expedition desired. Prosumnus obligingly tells him the way and sets him on the very threshold of the lower world. Meanwhile, while Liber surveys the Styx,[153] Cerberus,[154] the Furies, and all the other things with searching curiosity, the one who informed him about the road[155] passes from the number of the living and is buried in the human fashion. Evius[156] comes up from the region of the dead and learns that his guide is dead. In order to discharge his promise and free himself from the obligation of his oath, he hastens to the place of the burial.[157]

*Criticism of the myths.*

29. And so that no one may think that things so wicked have been fabricated by us, we do not ask him to believe the testimony of Heraclitus[158] nor do we require him to accept what he reads in that man concerning what he felt about such mysteries. Let him ask all Greece what these symbols mean which ancient custom erects and worships through the countryside, through the towns. He will find that the causes are those we say. Or, if they should be ashamed to tell the simple truth, what advantage is there in obscuring, in concealing the cause and origin of the rite, ⟨when⟩ the accusation is valid against the act of worship itself?

What can you say, you peoples, you nations busied in, devoted to, the worship of the temples? Are these the ceremonials to which you would force us by flames, exile, executions, and other kinds of penalties and threat of torture?[159] Are these the gods you would introduce to us, foist and inflict upon us, the like of which you would not wish yourselves to be, nor anyone related to you by blood or ties of friendship? Can you tell your youngsters[160] still wearing the bordered toga[161] the agreements which Liber made with his lovers?[162]

Can you urge upon your daughters-in-law, indeed, those joined with you in marriage, the modesty of Baubo and the chaste pleasures of Ceres? Do you want your young men to know, hear, learn what sort even Jupiter proved himself to be to one mother or another? Do you want your grown-up daughters and your fathers still full of life and vigor to become acquainted with the trick that same fellow played on his daughter? Do you want their own brothers, already sensing passion, and brothers sprung from the same parents as they, to hear that that fellow again was not above lying with his sister?[163]

Therefore, then, should we not flee far from gods of this kind? And that the filthiness of so impure a religion may not creep into our mind, should we not stop our ears altogether against it? What mortal is there so trained in moral purity that the examples[164] of the gods do not entice him to furies of this kind? Or who is there who could restrain his passions from his relatives and persons who should be revered, when he sees that with the gods above nothing is kept sacred in the confusion of their passions? For, when it becomes evident that the first and perfect nature is not strong enough to curb its passion within right limits, why should not a human being throw himself in promiscuous lusts, borne headlong by his innate frailty and encouraged by the teaching of a sacred deity?

*The pagans are the true atheists.*

30. I must say that for some time[165] as I reflected on monstrosities of this kind it has been my wont to wonder at the fact that you dare say anyone is an atheist,[166] irreligious, sacrilegious, who denies the gods exist at all, or doubts it, or maintains that they were men and because of some power and

merit they were placed among the number of the gods. The fact is, if a true examination be made, it is but fair that no one more than you should be called by these names, who under the pretense of worship pile up on them more blasphemies and accusations than if you had conceived the idea of doing this openly with avowed abuse.

A man who doubts the existence of the gods or who completely denies their existence, although the boldness of his ideas may give him the appearance of following monstrous views, nevertheless without reviling the faith of anyone, merely does not agree to things that are obscure. And one who asserts they were earthborn, although he takes away from them the sublimity of heaven's nobility, yet heaps upon them adventitious honors, since he affirms that they have been deservedly exalted to divinity on account of their good deeds and from recognition of their virtues.[167]

31. But you who assert that you are the champions and protagonists of their immortality, have you passed by, overlooked any single one of them and left him unabused by your maledictions? And is there any kind of insult so damnable in the belief of all that you have hesitated to use it on them, even if restrained solely by the authority of a name?

Who was it that declared that the gods loved transitory and mortal bodies?[168] Was it not you? Who, that they perpetrated those most exquisite thefts on the couches of others? Was it not you? Who, that sons consorted in dire intercourse with their mothers, or again that fathers did so with their own virgin daughters? Was it not you? Who, that handsome boys and even grown-up men of attractive appearance were lusted after? Was it not you? Who said they were made eunuchs, debauched, tricksters, thieves; that they were held by bonds, by chains; that, finally, they were assailed by thunderbolts,

wounded, passed away, and even received burial on earth? Was it not you? While, then, you have concocted so many and such grievous charges to slander the gods, are you brazen enough to assert that it is because of us that the minds of the divinities have been offended, when as a matter of fact it has long been clear that it is you who are the provokers of such anger and the instigators of divine wrath?

*According to the pagans, the stories should be taken allegorically.*

32. "But you err," he says, "and are mistaken, and show by the very criticism of these things that you are quite inexperienced, ignorant, and provincial.[169] At the heart of all these stories which seem to you disgraceful and tending to discredit the gods, there is a content of sacred mysteries, principles marvellously profound, which no one can readily grasp by intellectual acumen. For not what is written and indicated on the surface of the words is what is actually meant and said; but all these things are taken in an allegorical[170] sense and with mystical interpretations. Therefore, he who says, 'Jupiter lay with his mother' does not mean the incestuous and vile embraces of physical love, but instead of 'Jupiter' means rain, instead of 'Ceres,' the earth. And again, whoever says that he practiced debauchery with his daughter, is not speaking of foul pleasures, but in the place of the word 'shower,' he puts 'Jupiter,' and means by his 'daughter' the crop sown. So also he who says that Proserpina was carried off by Father Dis, does not, as you think, mean that the maiden[171] was carried off for base lusts; but the fact that we cover the seed with earth, is what is understood by the goddess going beneath the earth and uniting with Orcus to bring forth progeny. In like manner also in the other stories, one

thing is said, but another is meant, and the common and obvious sense contains an underlying hidden meaning and a profound truth shrouded in mystery."

*Criticism of allegory.*

33. All this is splitting hairs and straws, as is evident, and quibbling, the usual props that bolster bad cases in the courts; indeed, to put it more accurately, we have here the veneer of sophistic disputes by which not the truth but its image and appearance and shadow are always sought after. Since to accept the accounts literally is shameful, unbecoming, undignified, ⟨recourse is had⟩ to this expedient, that one thing is substituted for another, and by way of interpretation the appearance of decency is forced onto what is foul.

But what difference does it make to us whether other senses and other meanings underlie stories that are nugatory? For us who assert that you treat the gods wickedly and impiously, what is written, what is heard is enough, and we need not bother about what is hidden, since the insult to the divinities is contained not in the hidden meaning but in the sense of the words as they appear on the surface.

And yet, lest we appear to be unwilling to examine just what is said, we first ask you this, if you will but lend us your patience: who taught you or who suggested that these things were written in an allegorical sense or are to be so understood? Did the writers usually take you into conference?[172] Or were you lurking in their bosoms at the time they substituted one thing for another, so as to cover the real truth?[173] Further, if for some reason and because of a religious scruple they decided to shroud these mysteries in dark obscurity, then how great is your temerity to wish to understand what they did not wish you to understand, to know

yourselves and to spread before the knowledge of all what they concealed to no avail by words that did not stand for the truth!

34. But supposing we agree with you that in all these stories stags are spoken of in place of Iphigenias,[174] even so how is it clear to you, when ⟨you wish⟩ to explain or to unfold those allegories, that you are giving them the same interpretation or entertain the same ideas which were present with the writers themselves in their silent thoughts, not expressed by words proper to their meaning but to other senses?

You say that the rain falling into the bosom of the earth was referred to as the cohabitation of Jupiter and Ceres: another may more cleverly devise something else and make a conjecture with some approximation of the truth; a third may come with this, a fourth with that, and according as the varying endowments of the minds at thought assert themselves, so each thing can be interpreted in an infinite variety of ways. For if in the presence of obscure things everything is taken as so-called allegory and it possesses no certain bounds within which the meaning of the fact under discussion is fixed and immovable, anyone is free to interpret what he reads as he pleases and to assert as the original meaning what his own conjecture and surmises lead him to adopt. But with this the case, how can you establish as certain what is doubtful and attach only one meaning to an expression when you see that it can be drawn out by countless ways in a variety of interpretations?

35. Finally, returning to our inquiry—if this is agreeable to you—we ask you this too: whether you think that all these stories, that is, each and every one of them in all its parts, have been written with equivocal and double sense and in delusive ways; or that some parts of them do not use ambi-

guities, while others have manifold senses and are veiled in a cloak of allegory thrown about them. If from beginning to end the whole web of exposition and arrangement has been enshrouded in allegory, then tell us, show us in detail, what we ought to adopt and substitute for each thing which each individual story mentions and what other things and meanings we should take into account.

To take an example: you wish Jupiter to be understood as meaning rain, Ceres as meaning earth, and Libera[175] and Father Dis as signifying the casting and burying of seed; so, too, you ought to say what we should understand by the bull; what to put for the wrath and anger of Ceres; what the word Brimo means; what the entreaty of the anxious Jupiter stands for, the gods sent as his ambassadors but not given a hearing, the mutilated ram;[176] again, what is meant by the dealings with his daughter, with lust still more filthy. So, in the other story, what the grove and flowers of Henna are; what the fire taken from Etna and the torches lit from it, the travelling through the world with these torches lit from it; what the region of Attica, the district of Eleusis, the hut of Baubo and her rustic hospitality; what the drink of cyceon means, the rejection of the drink, the exposure of herself,[177] the shameful pleasure of the sight and the oblivion of bereavement caused by such means. Now, if you will show what substantial changes should be substituted for all these things, we shall grant your assertion; but if you cannot make a substitution in each case, nor accommodate the context ⟨to⟩[178] another sense, why do you try to dignify with allegorical claptrap what was written in a straightforward manner and given out to be clearly understood by everyone?

36. But perhaps you will say that these allegories are not inherent in the whole body of the story, but certain parts are

written in the ordinary way, while others have a double meaning and are veiled and obscured by ambiguity. That is a nice subtlety, but one that is transparent to the dullest. Because it is quite too difficult for you to transpose, rearrange, and interpret properly all that has been written, you select certain items agreeable to your purpose, and from those you strive to maintain that false and adulterated versions have been superimposed over the basic truth.

Well, let us suppose that we agree these things are as you say: but how do you know or whence do you learn which part of the story is written with literal meanings; which, on the other hand, has been covered with unharmonious and extraneous meanings? For it may well be that your supposition is other than the correct one; that what you believe to be otherwise, is actually set forth in that other sense, contrary to yours. Where within the body of connected matter a part is said to have been written in an allegorical sense, another part in straightforward language to be taken literally, and there is in the thing itself no mark by which the ambiguous statements can be distinguished from the unequivocal, that which contains the natural sense may just as well be thought to be said with a double meaning as what has been written ambiguously may be believed to be encased in obscurities. Indeed, we confess we cannot understand at all how this can be done or believed possible.

37. Let us take an example and examine statements made in this matter.

"Once upon a time," it is said, "in the Hennian grove the maiden Proserpina was gathering flowers."

Up to this point there is no corruption and the matter has been stated straightforwardly, for every one indubitably knows what a grove and flowers are, what Proserpina, what a maiden.

"Summanus[179] sprang forth from the earth, borne along in a four-horse chariot."

This, too, is just as straightforward, for four-horse teams, a chariot, and Summanus need no interpretation.

"Suddenly he carried off Proserpina and took her under the earth with him."

"The burying of the seed," so they say, "is meant by the carrying-off of Proserpina."

What has happeneed, I ask, that the story should suddenly change over into something else, that the seed is called Proserpina, that she who all along was regarded a maiden engaged in the gathering of flowers, once she was carried off and kidnapped began to have the sense of sown seed?

"Jupiter," we are told, "changed into a bull and assaulted his mother Ceres: as was explained above, these are names for the falling rain."

Yes, I see the matter's[180] darksome ambiguities removed by the law of allegory!

"Ceres burned with anger, but received the parts of a ram in lieu of punishment and redress."

Here again I see something put forth in common phrasing, for wrath ⟨and⟩ satisfaction are spoken of in their proper terminology. What, therefore, happened here that from Jupiter called 'rains' and from Ceres called the 'earth,' this sense was transferred to the actual Jupiter and to the simplest possible factual account?

38. Therefore, either everything has been written and composed in the allegorical sense and everything should be so explained by us; or nothing was written in that sense, since what is believed to be a part of the story seems not to be.

"All this is written in the allegorical sense."

No, this does not seem certain by any means.

"Why? For what reason?" you ask.

Because all that has actually taken place and is so established in the testimony of any work cannot be converted to allegory, for neither can that be undone which was done, nor can the character of any act ever change into a different one. Can the Trojan War[181] be turned into the condemnation of Socrates, or the famous battle of Cannae become the cruel proscription of Sulla? A proscription, indeed, as Tullius[182] jests, can be called a battle and be given the name of Cannae; but a battle that has taken place a long time ago, cannot be that same battle and at the same time a proscription; nor can anything which has taken place be anything else, as I have said, than what took place, nor can that which is fixed firmly in its own individual nature and in the characteristics proper to its own kind transform itself into a substance foreign to it.

39. How, then, do we prove that all these stories are records of actual events? From the solemn rites, of course, and the mysteries of initiation, either those which take place at stated times and days or those which the clans hand down in secret, preserving the perpetuity of their customs. For it must not be believed that these are without their origins, take place without reason or cause, having nothing to link them with first beginnings.

That pine[183] which is regularly borne into the sanctuary of the <I>daean[184] Mother—is it not a representation of the tree under which Attis unmanned himself and which they say the goddess consecrated to be a solace for her grief? Those male images which Greece worships and celebrates in yearly rites—do they not bring back a representation of that awful deed by which <Liber> freed himself from his obligation? Those Eleusinian mysteries and the secret rites contain the memorial of what? Is it not of that wandering by which Ceres, weary from seeking for her daughter, came to the

shores of Attica, introduced wheat, honored the family of the Nebridae[185] with the skin of the hind, and laughed at that very great sight of Baubo's? And if there is another cause, that is nothing to us, so long as they are all produced by some cause. For it defies belief that these were all undertaken without antecedent causes; or we must judge the people of Attica to be crazy for having conjured up a religious rite for no reason at all. And if this is clear and established, that is to say, if the causes and origins of the mysteries derive from past events, by no metamorphosis can they be changed into allegorical form. What has been done, has taken place, cannot be undone; the nature of things makes that impossible.

40. And, supposing that we grant you that such is the case,[186] that is, that the word contents of the stories give them a certain meaning, but, like soothsayers, say something else: yet do you not notice, do you not see, how slanderous and insulting to the gods that is which is said to be the case? Or can any greater wrong be found than to term and to call earth and rain or anything else—for it makes no difference what change in interpretation takes place—the intercourse of Jupiter and Ceres, and by crimes attributed to the gods to mean the fall of rain from the sky and the moistening of the earth? Can anything be thought or believed more impious than that the kidnapping of Proserpina describes seeds buried in the earth or anything else—for here, too, it makes no difference—and to speak about an agricultural phenomenon by branding Father Dis with infamy? Is it not a thousand times more desirable to become tongueless and mute, than to spout forth that vocal outpouring and strident din of filthy twaddle, than to call the foulest things by the names of the gods; indeed, to designate prosaic goings-on by the shameful deeds of the gods?

41. In times past it was the custom to use allegorical speech to cover up things shameful by perfectly decent connotations and to dress things too ugly to mention with euphemisms. But now at your instance serious matters are given in the language of shame, and what is strictly chaste is involved in filthy terminology, with the result that what dignity, modestly shrinking from what is base, formerly concealed, now is spoken of in a vile and shameful manner: the vocabulary of dignified speech has changed!

"When we speak of Mars and Venus being caught in adultery by the craftiness of Vulcan," he says, "we speak of passion and wrath restrained by the force and counsel of reason."

Well, then, what prevented, what hindered expressing each thing by the words and meanings proper to it? Yes, what urgency was there, when you desired to express some thing or other in written records, that you should not want your meaning to be understood but in the same discussion take up mutually exclusive points of view: the eagerness of one wishing to teach, and the grudging attitude of not wanting to reveal? Or did speaking of adulterous gods involve no risk, whereas the mention of passion and anger would have befouled the tongue and mouth by touching upon the filthy?[187] But if this last were done and the veil of allegorical obscurity were lifted, the matter would be readily understood and the honor of the gods would be preserved unscathed. But as it is, when by the binding of Mars and Venus the meaning is said to be the restraining of the vices, two most perverse things are present simultaneously: an evidently vile thing suggests some noble meaning; and baseness pre-empts the mind before any religious consideration can do so.

42. But perhaps you will say—for this is the only thing

remaining which, so it seems, you can bring forward—that the gods do not wish their mysteries to be known by man and therefore the stories were written in allegorical circumlocutions. And how do you know for sure that the gods above do not wish their mysteries to be made known to man? Whence are *you* acquainted with them? Why are *you* anxious to dilute them by explaining them as allegories? Finally and lastly, what do the gods mean that, while they frown upon decent things being said about themselves, they have no objection if most shameful and most unbecoming things are mentioned?

"When we name Attis," says he, "we mean and speak of, the sun."

But if Attis is the sun, as you refer to him and call him, who is that Attis supposed to be whom your literature records and declares was born in Phrygia, who suffered certain things, likewise did certain things; whom all the theaters[188] know in their stage plays; whom every year we see receiving special and individual veneration in the calendar of sacred cults? Was the transference of his name made from the sun to a man or from a man to the sun? But if that name was derived in the beginning from the sun, what in the world, I ask you, has the golden sun done to merit from you that you make him share his name with a half-man? But if the name is derived from a goat and from Phrygia,[189] of what has the father of Phaethon,[190] the father of this light and brightness, been guilty, that he should appear to deserve to be named for a castrated man and should become more august when marked with the appellation of a mutilated person?

43. But what is actually at the bottom of this is clear to all. Because you are ashamed of such writers and stories, and realize these things cannot be deleted once they have been set down as a matter of record in filthy form, you strive to

ennoble what is base, and by every kind of sophistry you pervert and corrupt the proper sense of words by supposititious interpretations; and as usually happens to the sick whose senses and understanding have been dislodged by the ravages of disease, you babble confused and vague ideas and are in raptures about the figments of unrealities.

Have it your way: the watering of the earth was meant by the intercourse of Jupiter and Ceres; the burying of the seed by the kidnapping of Father Dis; the vines scattered over the earth by the limbs of Liber torn asunder; the restraining of passion and temerity was spoken of as the fettering of the adulterous Venus and Mars.

44. But if you insist that these fables have been written in an allegorical manner, what is to be done with the rest regarding which we do see how they can be forced into such changes? What[191] shall we substitute for that to which lustful desire forced the descendant of Semele? And what in place of those Ganymedes[192] carried off and set over the direction of passions? What for the metamorphosis into an ant[193] into which the Great Jupiter contracted the infinity of his body? What for the swans[194] and satyrs?[195] What for the showers of gold[196] which the same lecherous god put on with treacherous deceit, amusing himself in changed forms? And, that we may not seem to want to speak about Jupiter only, what allegories can there be in the loves of other divinities? What in their conditions as hired servants and slaves; what in their bonds, bereavements, wailings; what in their torments, wounds, burials?

While in this it was possible for you to get off with single guilt for writing such stuff about the gods, you have added, as the saying goes, a cheap fish to the rich sauce,[197] when you used the names of the gods to label shame, and again defiled the gods with the designations of infamous things.

But if you believed without indubitable conviction that they are here present or that they exist anywhere at all, fear would have put restraint on you in making mention of them, and, as if they were hearing you and understood what you said, so should your belief in them have remained fixed in your thoughts. Plainly, among men devoted to the practice of religion, not only the gods themselves but also the names of the gods ought to be revered, and just as much dignity should attach to their names as to the persons who are connoted under these names.

45. Let us have an honest appraisal and you will be found at fault in this respect, that in your ordinary language you speak of 'Mars' in place of battle; in place of waters, 'Neptune'; 'Father Liber' in place of wine; 'Ceres' in place of bread; 'Minerva' in place of the warp; in place of filthy lusts, 'Venus.' And what reason is there that when things can be accounted for under their own names, they should be called by the names of the gods, and the divinities should be so insulted that not even we would stand for it, if anybody took our names and misapplied them to bagatelles?

"But the language is filthy, if polluted by such words."

What modesty—yes, modesty worthy of commendation! You blush to name bread and wine but to speak of Venus in place of intercourse does not embarrass you!

*Cath. Encycl.* 4 (1908) 653-8. Cf. especially an earlier witness, Tertullian, *De Monog.* 10.

[238] So also pagan testimony of Christians in Pliny's time: cf. *Ep. ad Trai.* 97. 7. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 2. 28, speaks of pagan scoffers as being silenced on actually witnessing Christian worship.

[239] Marchesi keeps the MS *quos solidet* which is difficult. Long ago Wensky corrected to *quos sol videt,* approved by Meiser and Wiman. Coxe (*ANF* 6. 488) cites this sentence to show that Arnobius possessed knowledge made available only to those who had passed beyond the status of catechumen. I dissent.

[240] Here again the Epicurean concept of the gods is clearly followed. Cf. Micka, *passim.*

[241] Cf. 7. 39-44, which is anticipated by the present passage.

[242] The MS *comptu* is difficult and has been much emended but, as Marchesi says, *comptus = coniunctio* (= 'bond'). Cf. Lucretius 3. 845 f.; 258 f.; 4. 26 ff., and Reifferscheid, *Analecta* 9; Löfstedt, *Eranos* 10 (1910) 15.

[243] The bracketed words, first rejected by Salmasius, are agreed by most editors not to belong here. Orelli put them in 4. 13, as we have noted above. Bryce-Campbell are inclined to think they really belong here, saying that the gods "cannot possibly at once be incapable of feeling anger and yet at the same time be angry with Christians."

[244] The *explicit* and *incipit* are as follows: ARNOUII ORATORIS LIB. IIII. EXP. INCP. LIB. U. Note that the word *Orator* = *Rhetor* (cf. Introd. 6).

## BOOK FIVE

With Book Five Arnobius turns the shafts of his keen invective against two famous myths which are told in detail and then criticized at great length, the story of the dealings of Numa Pompilius with Jupiter Elicius and the exotic legends involved in the Phrygian cults of Magna Mater and Attis. Having finished his polemic against these myths, he takes up the similarly wretched stories told about the founding of the various Greek mysteries, especially that established at Eleusis.

As will be seen from the individual notes, here again there are striking parallels with the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria, no fewer than seven of which are regarded by Röhricht (*De Clemente* 6 f.) as affording abundant proof of the indebtedness of our author

to the great Alexandrian polyhistor. Tullius, however, is convinced (57 f.) that Arnobius owes nothing to Clement but posits rather as the sources of this book a *Liber de mysteriis* and another on the allegorical interpretation of the myths. On this point see the Introduction 42 f.

[1] Wiman's excellent suggestion of *suo* = *summo* by abbreviation, a passage which has caused many scholars to stumble.

[2] Valerius Antias was a Roman historian of the first century B. C. His work, probably bearing the title *Annales*, comprised at least 75 books. Little concerned about historical truth, he supplied, invented, and forged history to suit his literary and partisan purposes. Cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 1 (4th ed., Munich 1927) 318. The account given in the following constitutes fragment 6 of Valerius Antias in H. Peter, *Hist. rom. fragm.* p. 153 = *Hist. rom. rel.* pp. 239-41. For other versions of the same story, see Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 285-398, and Plutarch, *Numa* 15. 3-5; for a study of the incident related, see F. J. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 2 (1922) 299-302.

[3] Supposed founder of the ancient Roman religious observances, which Arnobius (2. 12) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 21. 29; *De praescr. haer.* 40) term *superstitiones*.

[4] Egeria was a fountain nymph and the wife and adviser of Numa. Cf. Livy 1. 21. 3; Ovid, *Met.* 15. 487; *Fasti* 3. 261 f.; G. Wissowa, *LM* 1. 1216-8.

[5] Cf. 1. 28 and n. 116.

[6] Cf. 2. 71 and n. 445.

[7] The Aventine, the largest and least important historically of the three isolated peaks standing near the Tiber.

[8] *Elici*—an allusion to Jupiter Elicius, honored by an altar on the Aventine. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 327 f. and Frazer's note *ad loc.*, vol. 3. 90 f.; Wissowa, 121; *LM* 2. 656-61.

[9] *Dixe* is an archaic form of *dixisse*: cf. W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language* (Oxford 1894) 508.

[10] The meaning is by human sacrifice. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 9. 2: Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii. In *Scorp.* 7, he speaks of human sacrifices to Jupiter in Latium (see F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* [Religionsg. Vers. u. Vorarb. 15. 3, Giessen 1915] 180 f.).

[11] Jupiter had said that the expiation was to be made by the sacrifice of a head—*caput*. Now, *caput* was also the term for the bulb of an onion (*caepa, caepe, cepa, cepitius, cepitium*): cf. Walde-Hof-

mann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1 (3rd ed., Heidelberg 1938) 201. Numa, determined to extenuate the severe sacrificial requirement, at once takes advantage of the double meaning of *caput* and suggests to Jupiter that he of course means an onion 'head.' The god then insists that he means a 'human head,' to which Numa promptly adds 'of hair.'

[12] Here the Latin of Marchesi's text (P has *animalia;* Sabaeus *animali*) means that Jupiter requires a living (*animali* = adjective) head, not an onion or the lifeless hair on a human head; but Numa at once pretends to take the word as a noun meaning an animal head and suggests the *maena,* a small sea fish. ⟨*Maena*⟩ is supplied, from below, by Heraldus.

[13] A *maena,* corresponding to Plutarch's (*Numa* 15.5) *μαινίς* = anchovy (Dölger) or sprat (Perrin, Loeb Class. Libr.).

[14] That is, the onion, hair, and fish. For the true place of these in the ancient sacrifical ritual, cf. Dölger, *op cit.* 300 f.

[15] Aposiopesis.

[16] Reifferscheid reads *fluenta isse † per fontium?* In his apparatus he conjectures *adisse propere?* Meiser has *petisse;* Löfstedt *adisse semper.*

[17] Marchesi and Thörnell rightly keep the MS *ad ipsum:* a preposterous question is asked—*reductio ad absurdum.* Sabaeus and Reifferscheid have *ab ipso.*

[18] Reading ⟨*vi*⟩ *evanescat* with Kroll. The passage has been much emended but with little change in sense.

[19] *In verrucula colli unius cum homunculo stantem.* The Aventine is *relatively* small.

[20] Cf. Book Seven, n. 81.

[21] Here the MS reads *Nisi homo praesumeret* which Marchesi prints [*Nisi*] *homo praesumens.*

[22] His real wish was to circumvent Jupiter; he pretended to want to know Jupiter's will and do it.

[23] Orelli states that no other ancient author mentions this Timotheus who is no. 15 in the list published by R. Laqueur, *RE* 2 R. 6 (1937) 1338. Cf. also *DBM* 3. 1150 (no. 6); Cumont 223 n. 16. On the myth, see Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 221 and Frazer's note *ad loc.* vol. 3, pp. 217-24; Cumont 43-68. On the cult of Cybele, see H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain* (Paris 1912) and the works cited in Cumont 220 f.

[24] The MS has *sita* but Bastgen *posita* and Castiglioni ⟨*expo*⟩*sita* which seems excellent.

[25] Tullius (57) is right in maintaining that the following account of Attis owes nothing to the corresponding passage in Clement, *Protr.* 2.24. Cf. Catullus 63; W. W. Hyde, *Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire* (Philadelphia 1946) 46-9. The frequent use throughout this account of historical presents, a grammatical device not found elsewhere in Arnobius, may be a reflection of the particular source which our author is here following.

[26] On Themis, cf. Horace, *Carm.* 1.2; Pausanias 10.5.6; K. Latte, *RE* 2 R. 5 (1932) 1626-30; L. Weniger, *LM* 5.570-606; J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge 1912) 480-535; R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (Leipzig 1907) 1 ff.

[27] The sole survivors in the Greek version of the Deluge. On the myth, see L. v. Sybel, *LM* 1.994-8; K. Tümpel, "Deukalion," *RE* 5 (1905) 261-76. Cf. *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949) 45 f.

[28] Cf. F. Schwenn, *RE* 11 (1922) 2250-98; also Index, "Cybele."

[29] The MS and Marchesi: *Acdestis;* Reifferscheid: *Agdistis,* a difference in orthography preserved throughout the passage. On Agdestis (conceived, according to Arnobius: [Iuppiter] voluptatem in lapidem fudit victus. Hinc petra concepit), cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2 (Cambridge 1925) 1225; W. H. Roscher, "Agdistis," *LM* 1.100; G. Knaack, *RE* 1 (1894) 767 f.

[30] The god of wine, explaining the strategy employed in the following.

[31] Sequuntur: ex setis scientissime conplicatis imum plantae inicit laqueum, parte altera proles cum ipsis genitalibus occupat. Exhalata ille vi meri corripit se impetu et adducente nexus planta suis ipse se viribus eo quo ⟨vir⟩ fuerat privat sexu. Cum discidio partium sanguis fluit immensus . . . .

[32] On Nana, cf. Wagner, *LM* 3.4; F. Schwenn, *RE* 16 (1935) 1672; F. J. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ 2 (1922) 336 f. (the pomegranate as symbolic of fruitfulness).—Sangarius was a king named for the river of Phrygia and Bithynia which flows into the Euxine. Cf. A. Nawrath, "Sangarius" no. 2, *RE* 2 R. 1 (1920) 2270: O. Höfer, LM 4.334. On the river, see L. Schmitz, *DG* 2.902. It is now the Turkish Ayala.

[33] Here the MS reads *formas* which Salmasius emends to *Phorbas* but no Phorbas is mentioned in other versions of the same story. Marchesi brackets [*formas*] and inserts ⟨*forma*⟩ before *scitulos,* comparing Plautus, *Rudens* 894. This Wiman approves. Heraldus reads *foret* and Kistner *foras.*

[34] So far as this phrase (*lacte hirquino*) goes, the sense is merely

'goat's milk,' but in 5.13 Arnobius pretends to believe that the adjective *hirquinus* (or *hircinus*) can refer only to a he-goat because this suits his purpose better. He is not completely fair to his opponents.

[35] I. e. the Lydians. Cf. *Etruria* = *Etrusci* in 2.62 (ter).

[36] Cf. Hesychius *s. v.* "Ἀδαγυνός," who identifies him as a hermaphrodite god among the Phrygians.

[37] The principal town in west Galatia, central point for the Cybele cult. Cf. W. Ruge, *RE* 19 (1937) 1104-14.

[38] Cf. 2.73, 5.13. See also W. Drexler, "Midas," *LM* 2.2954-68; S. Eitrem, "Midas" no. 1, *RE* 15 (1932) 1526-36; L. Preller-C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* 1 (4th ed., Berlin 1894) 644 f.

[39] At the beginning of this sentence Reifferscheid places * * * indicating that he thinks there is a serious dislocation of the text.

[40] I have not been able to improve upon Brakman's suggestion *adora adora* (for the MS *adorandorum*) which is hardly satisfactory, as Wiman, *Eranos* 45 (1947) 147, says, but the same objection can be made to his *adorandorum* ‹*insolito ardore*› *deorum*, and to all other attempts to cure the passage.

[41] Marchesi reads: *mammas sibi demetit* † *Galli filia paelicis*, which Wiman, *Eranos* 45 (1947) 143, on the basis of 5.13 (see n. 74) expands as follows: *mammas sibi demetit Galli* ‹*sese evirantis exemplo*› *filia paelicis*.

[42] On Gallus, see W. Drexler, *LM* 1.1582 f. On this passage see Wiman, *Eranos* 45 (1947) 143.

[43] Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 1.7.7; *Epit.* 8, follows a divergent tradition.—Sequuntur in textu: (Attis) dicens: 'Tibi Acdesti haec habe, propter quae motus tantos furialium discriminum concitasti.' Evolat cum profluvio sanguinis vita, sed abscisa quae fuerant Magna legit et ‹lavit› Mater deum, inicit his terram, ‹ut erant› prius tecta atque involuta defuncti.

[44] What follows shows that at least a violet-colored flower is meant, but our violet does not climb. *Viola* is, however, sometimes translated as 'gillyflower,' a variety of which may be meant. See *Encyc. Brit.* 12 (11th ed., 1911) 24.

[45] A pine thus wrapped and garlanded, representing the dead Attis, was borne to the temple of Cybele on the Palatine by a confraternity known as *dendrophoroi* (= 'tree-carriers'); cf. Cumont 52.

[46] LeNourry, quoted by Orelli, wishes to identify this Valerius with Messalla (cf. A. Gellius 13.15; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.9) but Messalla is described there as an augur, not a *pontifex*. Hildebrand

thinks this is Valerius Antias (Peter is silent on the point) who is cited in 5. 1 but for quite a different story.

[47] Marchesi keeps the MS: *suffodit* † *etas.* Numerous conjectures have been made but none effects a cure of the corrupt passage.

[48] Either with her hands or, as Alleker seems to think, on the tree.

[49] My friend, F. L. Santee, M.D., writes that the phenomenon of growth of hair after death is so commonly met by physicians that it receives no attention in the standard medical books. Cf. Tertullian, *De an.* 51. 2 and Waszink's note, p. 529; Aristotle, *Hist. animal.* 3. 11 (518b).

[50] *Minimissimus,* repeated in 5. 14—*superlativus e superlativo.* Cf. *extremissimus:* Tertullian, *Apol.* 19. 4; *pessimissimus, De cultu fem.* 2. 1.

[51] Reading *sacrorum antistitibus* for *sacerdotum* (*sacerdot<ior>um:* Reifferscheid) *antistitibus,* following the recommendation of Dr. Plumpe, "Some Critical Annotations to Arnobius," *Vigiliae Christianae* 3. 4 (1949), who compares Cicero, *De domo sua* 104, and other passages. The 'annual rites' were performed during a cycle of feasts, 15-27 March, introduced by the emperor Claudius and honoring both Cybele and Attis. Cf. Wissowa 321 f.; Cumont 52-57.

[52] M. Terentius Varro. The information referred to him in the following appears as fragment 9 of Varro's *De gente populi Romani* in H. Peter, *Hist. rom. fragm.* p. 230 = *Hist. rom. rel.* 2, p. 14.

[53] A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa were lieutenants of Caesar who lost their lives in April, 43 B. C., when, as consuls, they took the field against Antony. Thus, the Varronian calculations must have put the deluge somewhere about 2043 B. C. or a little later.

[54] If this sentence means anything, it must surely imply that Magna Mater no longer exists. Cf. Introd. 30-3.

[55] In a related sense, speaking of the obscene barbarities practiced in the cult of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, St. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 2. 5, very effectively posits the case of Scipio Nasica, chosen in 204 B. C. for the honor of bringing the likeness of the Great Mother into Rome. He received the offer of having his mother deified by the Roman state. Surely, states Augustine, Nasica would wish that such honor be paid his mother. The same senator would revolt, however, at the very thought that his mother should be honored with the same disgraceful rites as are practiced in honor of the Mother of the Gods. In that case Nasica would much prefer 'that his mother lay stone dead.'—Cf. the previous chapter (2. 4) where Augustine states: "There is something in the reverence that man has for his parents which not even profligacy can take away."

[56] Sequuntur: et quem pietas diiugare ab infando matris non valuit adpetitu, effusa libido diiunxit?

[57] Omisi: Et sane hoc loco frugalitatis magnae viri et circa res etiam flagitiosi operis parciores, ne sancta illa semina frustra videantur effusa, silex, inquit, ebibit Iovialis incontinentiae foeditatem.

[58] St. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 7.26, remarks concerning the African type of the Galli, the unmanned priests of the Mother of the Gods venerated in Africa: "Up to very recently these effeminates were walking the streets and alleys of Carthage, their hair reeking with ointment, their face powdered white, with enervated bodies moving along like women, and even soliciting the man on the street for sustenance of their dissolute lives."

[59] *Cantheriorum* = 'geldings'; also used frequently of worn-out, decrepit animals—'nags,' 'dobbins,' 'jades.' Arnobius sarcastically implies that Liber was shrewd enough not to try to obtain the hair needed by tampering with the tails of more spirited horses, stallions, for example.

[60] *Sauciantem*, lit. = 'wounding'; cf. *Harper's Lat. Dict.: se sauciare* = to get 'shot.'

[61] The supplement of the lacuna is based on 5.6 by Wiman: *postquam ebrietas potu<m inde immoderatius Acdestim altissimo sopor>e mersit* for Marchesi's *postquam ebrietas potu emersit.* Sequuntur: inseruisse caute manus, contrectavisse virilia dormientis, atque ut omnia cingerent circumpositi laqueorum morsus, artificii i<ta> tum rebus adhibuisse perituris.

[62] Here the MS reads *de divino aliquid ex corpore desecari* and Marchesi, following Salmasius, brackets [*de*].

[63] Ancient purple was cardinal.

[64] Hagendahl wishes to read *<f>luminis* which seems less satisfactory.

[65] Zink adds *vino* which is the meaning even if Marchesi is right in omitting it.

[66] The people of Abdera in Thrace were proverbially stupid. Cicero, for example, writes to Atticus (4.16.6) when the senate to his mind had made a stupid decision: '*Hic abdera,*' 'here we are in Abdera.' Cf. O. Hirschfeld, *RE* 1 (1894) 22.f.

[67] The word (*patres*) has probably no more force than "sources."

[68] The Great Mother of the Gods, an appellative derived from Mt. Berecyntus, supposedly the original homestead of the ancient Cybele-venerating Phrygians. Cf. H. Steuding, *LM* 1.783; O. Jessen, "Berekyntia," *RE* 3 (1899) 280.

[69] *Pignus* has here the meaning of 'child' instead of its more normal meaning of 'pledge.'

[70] Cf. 5. 6 and n. 34.

[71] The sort of *dilectio* characterized by Tertullian, *Apol.* 15. 2-5: Cybele pastorem suspirat fastidiosum . . . non erubescentibus vobis.

[72] Reifferscheid makes this a question with telling effect.

[73] That is, the walls came with her as she lifted them up with her head. For sculptures showing these walls on Cybele's head, see S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris 1897-1924) 2. 269, 273; 3. 251; 4. 163; 5. 118.

[74] Pausanias (7. 17. 5) says that the father-in-law of Attis likewise mutilated himself; but he also says that Attis was the son of Calaus, a name which looks suspiciously like Gallus. Cf. also 5. 7. Gallus was the name of a river tributary to the Sangarius.—Sequuntur in textu: Tibi habe haec, inquit, propter quae res tantas animorum subversionibus concitasti. Nesciremus adhuc omnes, quid in adulti corpore furor desiderasset Acdestius, nisi puer abscisa insatietati obiecisset offensi.

[75] Sequuntur: Dicite o iterum, ergone deum mater genitalia illa desecta cum fluoribus ipsa per se maerens officiosa sedulitate collegit, ipsa sanctis manibus, ipsa divinis contrectavit ac sustulit flagitiosi operis instrumenta foedique, abscondenda etiam mandavit terrae, ac ne nuda in gremio diffluerent sic soli, priusquam veste velaret ac tegeret, lavit utique, balsamis atque unxit? Unde enim violae nasci potuissent odorae, nisi putorem membri unguentorum illa suffectio temperaret?

[76] This suggests 1 Tim 4. 7: *fabulas aniles,* but the phrase is too common in proverbs to show acquaintance with the Epistle.

[77] See n. 49.

[78] Cf. 1. 2 for the same idea, almost the same words.

[79] On these emasculated priests of the Phrygian cult, see Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 361-2; G. Lafaye, *DA* 2. 1455-9; F. Cumont, "Gallos" no. 5, *RE* 7 (1912) 674-82; also above, n. 57.

[80] Cf. n. 73.

[81] From *carere,* 'to be without,' therefore also 'to do without,' 'to abstain.' The neuter *castum* designated the period during which abstinence was practiced (Tertullian, *De ieun. adv. psych.* 16: *castum* Isidis et Cybeles). Abstention from bread was also enjoined on certain feast days of Ceres (cf. Wissowa 301). On *castus,* see G. Wissowa, "castus" no. 4, *RE* 3 (1899) 1780, and *ibid.* 2905; also F. J. Dölger's note on ἁγνεία: IXΘΥΣ 2 (1922) 55 n. 3.

[82] The *Galli.*

[83] Cf. Cicero, *De leg.* 2. 14. 36; Livy 39. 8.

[84] A point of view which might have been followed more systematically to great advantage. The next sentence furnishes one example among others in Arnobius of the ancient rhetorical figure of omission—*praeteritio* (παράλειψις), really a rhetorical trick by which some incident or example, particularly an unpleasant one, is ostensibly passed over, but actually mentioned, and frequently in considerable detail. Cf. R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* (2nd ed., Leipzig 1885) 501.

[85] Cf. 1. 36. S. Brandt (*CSEL* 19. 1, pp. cii and 89) maintains that there is correspondence between this passage and Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 1. 22. 9 f. See Introd. 48-51.

[86] Sextus Clodius, a rhetor and known wit, was Mark Antony's teacher. When Antony had settled rich Sicilian lands on him, Cicero in the *Philippics* (3. 9. 22) punned that the teacher had become *ex oratore arator*. Cicero (*ibid.* 2. 17. 43) further taunted his archenemy by stating that he had learned little sense indeed, considering the tuition paid. Concerning this Clodius, cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 1 (4th ed., Munich 1927) 583.

[87] This Butas was probably a freedman of the younger Cato. Cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 21. 6; G. Knaack, "Butas" no. 2, *RE* 3 (1899) 1080.

[88] Tullius (57) is convinced that the mention of the *Dii Conserentes* owes nothing to Clement. F. Dal Pane, "Sopra le fonti di un passo di Arnobio," *Studi ital. di filol. class.* 9 (1901) 30, cites Dion. Hal., *Ant. rom.* 4. 2; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 36. 70. 204; Ovid, *Fasti* 6. 627-34, and maintains that the Conserentes = Lares. He thinks Arnobius is citing Granius Flaccus through Cornelius Labeo. So also Gabarrou (*Oeuvre* 41). Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 4. 6.

[89] Orelli identifies this Flaccus either with Granius Flaccus (cf. 3. 31) or with Verrius Flaccus the grammarian. The latter is much less likely.—Arnobius' text: Sed et deos Conserentis pari more ac dissimulatione taceamus, quos cum ceteris scribit Flaccus in humani penis similitudinem versos obruisse ⟨se⟩ cinere, qui sub ollula fuerat factus extorum: quem cum Tanaquil dimoveret Etruriae disciplinarum perita, subrexisse se deos et nervis obduruisse divinis. Corniculanae inde imperavisse captivae, ut intellegeret et agnosceret, quid sibi vellet; Ocrisiam prudentissimam feminam divos inseruisse genitali, explicuisse motus certos: tunc sancta ecferventia numina vim vomuisse Lucilii ac regem Servium natum esse Romanum.

[90] Cf. Livy 39. 8 f.; Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 6; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2. 12. 2.

[91] Omophagia is the Latin form of the Greek word ὠμοφαγία which means 'eating raw flesh.' Cf. Clement, *loc. cit.*, in which Clement says that "the raving Dionysus is worshipped by Bacchants with orgies in which they celebrate their sacred frenzy with a banquet of raw flesh. Wreathed with snakes, they distribute portions of their victims, crying Εὐα, that Εὔα (Eve) through whom error entered the world; and a consecrated snake is the emblem of the Bacchic orgies" (Butterworth). He then goes on to state that according to correct Hebrew, the word *hevia* means a female snake. Aside from the rhetorical differences it is clear that Clement had a source which gave the Bacchic cry omitted by Arnobius. Röhricht (*De Clemente* 25, parallels nos. 16 f.) thinks that Clement is Arnobius' source, but Tullius (26) says that both are independent, the latter using a *liber de mysteriis* for his material.

[92] Cf. Cumont 201 and 319 n. 56.

[93] Cf. 4. 24, 6. 6; see Introd. 6 f.

[94] Cf. also 4. 24. Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2. 13. 4, calls Cinyras a Cypriote and says he transferred the lascivious orgies of Aphrodite from night to day. Cf. also Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 9. 3–10. 1.

[95] That is, those who undergo initiation.

[96] In the parallel passage (*Protr.* 2. 14) Clement is quite different. As Tullius (29 f.) says, Clement cannot be the source for Arnobius, which was probably a book on the mysteries. Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 10. 26; F. J. Dölger, *Ant. u. Christ.* 3 (1932) 11.

[97] The parallel passage in Clement (*Protr.* 2. 19) is much fuller than that in Arnobius. Two of the Corybantes slew a third—their brother—shrouded the corpse's head with a purple cloak, wreathed and buried it, carrying it upon a bronze shield to the base of Mt. Olympus. The priests of these mysteries forbid wild celery to be placed on the table, for they believe the plant grew out of the blood of the murdered brother. Clement adds that a similar custom is observed by the women who celebrate the Thesmophoria: they are careful not to eat pomegranate seeds, because they believe that pomegranates spring from the blood of Dionysus. Again Tullius (32) maintains against Röhricht (*De Clemente* 26, parallel no. 18), that there is too much in Clement not in Arnobius to believe that Arnobius is here following Clement. Dr. Plumpe points out that Arnobius has expressly stated that he does not intend to use all the material at his disposal. Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 12. 4; F. J. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ 2 (1922) 432; Brakman, *Miscella tertia* 27.

[98] From Clement we learn that the murderers and murdered were Corybantes.

[99] Again the account of Clement (*Protr.* 2. 17 f.) is much fuller. Röhricht (*De Clemente* 26) lists this as parallel no. 19, but Tullius (33 f.) sees a different source than Clement.

[100] The mythical poet Orpheus, son of Oeagrus and the muse Calliope. Clement, *Protr.* 2. 17. 2, quotes two Orphic lines which mention some of the playthings of Liber, including the golden apples, here listed by Arnobius.

[101] Chapters 20 ff. form a connected account of the mysteries known as Sabazian (Arnobius: Sebadian), which is paralleled by another in Clement (*Protr.* 2. 15 f.). The latter is considerably more concise but, on the other hand, gives details not found in Arnobius. Cf. Tullius' printing of the two accounts in parallel columns (35-7). Here again he (38-40) maintains, against Röhricht (*De Clemente* 10, 27 f.) that the sources of both apologists are different and that our author was following a Latin *Liber de mysteriis*.

[102] That is, the 'grim or terrible one,' a name also given to Hecate (Artemis). Cf. Propertius 11. 16; Apoll. Rhod. 3. 861-2, 1211; Lycophron 1176; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5. 3.

[103] Deinde: ad postremum filius vias satisfactionis inquirens comminiscitur remedium tale: arietem nobilem bene grandibus cum testiculis deligit, exsecat hos ipse et lanato exuit ex folliculi tegmine. Accedens maerens et summissus ad matrem et tamquam ipse sententia condemnavisset se sua, in gremium proicit [et iacit] has eius.

[104] Cf. also 5. 35; Wissowa 309-13.

[105] The goddess of the lower world.

[106] The issue, usually not described as a monster, was called Zagreus.

[107] Clement, who quotes a second line, speaks of an "idolatrous" or "symbolical poet." O. Crusius, *Rhein. Mus.* 45 (1890) 272, assigns this verse to the poet Rhinthon. Cf. also W. Kroll, *Rhein. Mus.* 72 (1917-8) 79 n. 2; Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 26. 1.

[108] Clement calls them 'Sabazian.' Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 10; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1. 18; Cumont 60-65, pl. 3, which shows the head and bust of Sabazios.

[109] The rest of the sentence—*et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis*—has no counterpart in Clement.

[110] Leda was the mother of the Castors.—Danae, daughter of Acrisius of Argos and Eurydice: cf. H. W. Stoll, *LM* 1. 946-9.—On Europa, daughter of Phoenix, cf. 5. 24 (*nondum mulier*) and see O. Crusius, *LM* 1. 14. 10-8; J. Escher, "Europe" no. 1, *RE* 6 (1912)

1287-98.—Regarding Alcmene, cf. Book Four, n. 198.—The Electra here mentioned was not the daughter of Agamemnon but the daughter of Atlas and Hesione, and mother of Dardanus. See Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 31 f.; Dion. Hal., *Ant. rom.* 1. 50, 1. 61; Vergil, *Aen.* 8. 134-7.—Latona was mother of Apollo and Diana, Laodamia, daughter of Bellerophon and mother of Sarpedon by Zeus (*Iliad* 6. 197). See H. W. Stoll, *LM* 2. 1826-9; M. Schmidt, *RE* 12 (1925) 698.

[111] Catamitus = Ganymede. Cf. 4. 26, 5. 44, 7. 33, and W. H. Roscher, *LM* 1. 856; E. Aust, *RE* 3 (1899) 1784.

[112] The MS reads *screnarum* for which Gelenius reads *scenarum* and Salmasius *sentinarum.*

[113] Cf. Minucius 31. 3: sic et deos colitis incestos, cum matre, cum filia, cum sorore coniunctos (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 1. 46 f.). Cf. also Origen, *C. Cels.* 1. 17.

[114] Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 10. 18.

[115] With *cohonestatum* the MS reads *esse.* Cf. Weyman 392.

[116] Here the word *censoria* suggests that, like a Roman censor, Jupiter examines all the rams to see which come up to specifications: . . . inspicientem testiculos arietinos, arripientem hos manu censoria illa atque divina.

[117] Here the MS has [*ferventi nullas*] which is meaningless in the text: tum deinde secreta rimantem [ferventi nullas] summotisque arbitris circumiectas prolibus diripientem membranulas.

[118] *Sub mundi hoc axe.* Both this sentence and the next lack main verbs.

[119] *Res omnes in antiquae speciem confunderet unitatis.*

[120] Arnobius has been unjustly charged (see the unusually excellent exegesis given by Bryce-Campbell 247 n. 6) with confusing the Eleusinian mysteries and the Thesmophoria, the two having much in common. Kettner (5), Röhricht (*De Clemente* 11), and Kroll (78) are among the critics at this point, but Bryce-Campbell's favorable attitude is strongly supported by Tullius (45) who is sure that this passage does not refer to the Eleusinia and that Arnobius is independent of Clement, a cardinal point in Tullius' thesis. Cf. P. Arbesmann, "Thesmophoria," *RE* 2. R. 6 (1936) 15-28; O. Höfer, "Thesmophoros," *LM* 5. 760-3; E. Cahen, *DA* 5. 239-42.

[121] *Pannychismi,* a Greek word meaning 'keeping vigils.' Cf. Cumont 54.

[122] For the story, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 393-620; Diodorus Sic. 4. 4; Apollodorus 1. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 7. 1-7, 8. 3.

[123] Sabaeus is probably right in changing *virago* to *virgo* here, but *virago* = *virgo* elsewhere in this MS.

[124] Cf. 5.35.

[125] Clement begins his parallel story in *Protr.* 2.17.1, interrupts it with the account of the slaying of Dionysus and of the Corybantic orgies, and then continues the tale of Demeter (= Ceres) with her arrival at Eleusis, *ibid.* 2.20.1-21.2. The fact that Clement places the swineherd Eubuleus on the scene of the abduction, eliminates the possibility that he is thinking of a Sicilian scene, as is Arnobius. Tullius (46) is convinced, as usual, that Arnobius owes nothing to Ovid's account but is following an epic treatment of the rape of Proserpina, unknown to us now but available to Arnobius in a prose form. Röhricht (*De Clemente* 3, 35) cites R. Foerster, *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* (Stuttgart 1874) 282, for the view that 5.24-6 owe much to Clement, and A. Ludwich, "Baubo und Demeter," *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.* 141 (1890) 51 ff., for the opposite view.

[126] The Attic deme of Eleusis lay northwest of Athens, a short distance from the sea opposite the island of Salamis. In it was the great sanctuary of the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter about which Pausanias (1.38.5-7) gives, as was to be expected, an unsatisfactorily brief statement. Pausanias learned nothing about the present tale of the origin of the mysteries, or, if he did, was silent. Cf. F. Lenormant, *DA* 2.544-81; A. Schiff, "Eleusis," *RE* 5 (1905) 2336-8; P. Stengel, "Eleusinia," *ibid.* 2328-32.

[127] *Terrigenae* = 'earthborn,' 'autochthonous.' In Clement's list Dysaules comes second but the others are in the same order. Cf. Röhricht, *De Clemente* 10, 34-8, parallel no. 10.

[128] On Baubo, wife of Dysaules, see Schultz, *LM* 1.752 f. (he believes Arnobius freely translates Clement); F. Lenormant, *DA* 1.683; O. Kern, "Baubo" no. 1, *RE* 3 (1899) 150 f.; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich 1941) 622-4. Cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche, the Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks* (tr. by W. B. Hillis, New York 1925) 591. In modern times this sensual deity found a place in the Walpurgis Night of Goethe's *Faust,* part 1. 3962 ff.—Triptolemus was of royal Eleusinian descent, befriended by Demeter (= Ceres). Through her assistance he became the inventor of agriculture and civilization. She gave him a chariot with winged dragons and with these he rode through the world, acquainting it with wheat and the means of its production. Cf. Pausanias 1.14.2, 1.38.6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; Ovid, *Met.* 5.638-

61; also above, 1.38 and n. 181.—Eumolpus, a son of Poseidon, was the mythical founder of the Eleusinian mysteries. Cf. Pausanias 1.38.3.—Eubuleus, a brother of Triptolemus: cf. Pausanias 1.14.2.—Dysaules was the father of Triptolemus and Eubuleus: Pausanias 1.14.3, 2.14.2-4. Cf. H. W. Stoll, *LM* 1.1208 f.

[129] The sacerdotal family at Eleusis. Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* 1: *Theogonie und Götter* (Berlin 1894) 787 f.

[130] The Athenians, whose city was said to have been founded by the first king of Attica, Cecrops. Cf. O. Immisch, *LM* 2.1014-24.

[131] On the snakes on the *caduceus*, cf. 4.22.

[132] As usual, Arnobius elaborates the details.

[133] *Cinnus.* Cf. Hesychius, *s. v.* κυκεών (wine, water, honey, barley, mixed).

[134] Note the anthropomorphism of the story.

[135] Clement says Baubo's feelings were hurt, a point not made by Arnobius.

[136] Sequuntur: partem illam corporis, per quam secus femineum et subolem prodere et nomen solet adquirere generi, tum longiore ab incuria liberat, facit sumere habitum puriorem et in speciem levigari nondum duri atque histriculi pusionis. Redit ad deam tristem et inter illa communia quibus moris est frangere ac temperare maerores retegit se ipsam atque omnia illa pudoris loca revelatis monstrat inguinibus. Atque pubi adfigit oculos diva et inauditi specie solaminis pascitur.

[137] Orpheus who is named by Clement.

[138] The verses, differing considerably from the parallel lines in Clement, *Protr.* 2.21.1, are:

> Sic effata simul vestem contraxit ab imo
> Obiecitque oculis formatas inguinibus res:
> Quas cava succutiens Baubo manu—nam puerilis
> Ollis vultus erat—plaudit, contrectat amice.
> Tum dea defigens augusti luminis orbes
> Tristitias animi paulum mollita reponit:
> Inde manu poclum sumit risuque sequenti
> Perducit totum cyceonis laeta liquorem.

[139] *Erechthidae,* that is, sons or descendants of Erechtheus, an Attic mythical hero—another appellative (cf. above, *Cecropidae*, n. 130) for the Athenians. See Ovid, *Met.* 7.430.

[140] Athens is Athene's town.

[141] Note here the legal terms which appear to have escaped C. Ferrini, 'Die juristischen Kenntnisse des Arnobius und des Lactantius," *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift. f. Rechtsgesch.* 15 (1894) 343-52.

[142] Both Reifferscheid and Marchesi mark this with a † but the lacuna is clearly supplied by the suggestion of Wiman, *Eranos* 45 (1947) 144: *Eleusiniorum vestrorum not<i hi versus in medium not>as et origines producunt*, etc. Kroll had suggested that *notas* be changed to *not<h>as*.

[143] On this religious password or liturgical formula of legitimation, see F. J. Dölger, *Ant. u. Christ.* 4 (1934) 145 n. 17. It should be noted that in the case of the abduction of Proserpina and the Baubo-Demeter episode which follows it, the source of Arnobius could not have been Clement, according to the view of Tullius (48-52), because of the too great differences between them, but was a work on mysteries unknown to us. See also another formula of the same type in Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 18. 1 (cf. Cumont 65).

[144] *Sine honoribus praefatis.* Deinde sequuntur: quidquam quaeso spectaculi, quid in pudendis fuit rei verendisque Baubonis, quod feminei sexus deam et consimili formatam membro in admirationem converteret atque risum. . . .

[145] Reading *nos decentis* with Kroll and Wiman instead of the MS *noscentis* or *nos gentis* which is found in both editors.

[146] *Tricas conduplicare Tellenas.* Here the first and third words are difficult. Regarding the first, Nonius (1, p. 13 Lindsay) defines: *tricae* sunt impedimenta et implicationes, '*tricae* are hindrances and entanglements.' Further, Nonius (*ibid.*) quotes Varro: putas eos non citius *tricas Tellanas* quam id extricaturos. Here, too, a connotation of something involved, confusing, troublously puzzling, is evident. Again, the quotation from Varro also contains the word *Tellanas* = *Tellenas* (the latter spelling, also defended by Turnebus and Nettleship, may have escaped Lindsay in the present text of Arnobius). The Tellenii of Tellenae (Tellena?) are mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5. 61; cf. also Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 3. 68) as having been members of the alliance of thirty Latin cities. The city was taken and destroyed under Ancus Martius and the inhabitants transplanted to Rome and given citizenship (Livy 1. 33). Cf. H. Philipp, "Tellenae," *RE* 2. R., 5 (1934) 405. What the Tellenii did to give their name to a difficult or 'inextricable' situation—the proverbial *tricae Tellenae*—is still a puzzle. Tullius (55) is, of course, quite right in laying emphasis on the point that whatever Arnobius' source here, it was not Clement.

[147] On the textual problems involved in this reference to the Halimuntian mysteries, see my note in *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949) 46 f.

[148] For the contention that Arnobius is here indebted to Clement,

*Protr.* 2.31.2, cf. Kettner 5, Röhricht, *De Clemente* 17, and Kroll 78; for a denial of such dependence, see Tullius 54. Cf. W. Kolbe, "Halimus," *RE* 7 (1912) 2266 f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 52, 80. See especially Röhricht, *De Clemente* 16 f., 28, parallel no. 22. Brakman, *Miscella tertia* 27, thinks Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 12.4, imitated the present passage.

[149] Cf. 4.15. Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 3.23.58: the fifth Dionysus is the 'son of Nisus and Thyone and is believed to have established the Trieterides festival.' Bryce-Campbell are sure Arnobius had Cicero before him. Tullius (56) shows that the passage is not found in Clement. Cf. Diodorus Sic. 1.15, 3.59 f.

[150] An allusion to Semele, mother of Dionysus by Zeus.

[151] Cf. O. Höfer, *LM* 3.3154 f.

[152] The word certainly is superfluous in: si sibi gereret [et] morem deus atque uxorias voluptates paterétur ex se carpi.

[153] The fabulous river at the boundary between the upper and lower worlds. Cf. O. Waser, *LM* 4.1566-79.

[154] The three-headed dog with triple barking guarding the lower world (see Vergil, *Aen.* 6.417-25; Ovid, *Met.* 4.450 f.). Cf. O. Immisch, *LM* 2.1119-35; S. Eitrem, *RE* 11 (1922) 271-84.

[155] Reading with Wiman: *index viae* in place of Marchesi's ⟨*ex*⟩*inde* for *inde*.

[156] Evius = Dionysus, Εὔιος. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 25.60; Lucretius 5.742; etc. See also Jessen, "Euios" no. 1, *RE* 6 (1909) 992 f.

[157] For the parallel account by Clement, see *Protr.* 2.34.3-5. Arnobius continues: et ficorum ex arbore ramum validissimum praesecans dolat runcinat levigat et humani speciem fabricatur in penis, figit super aggerem tumuli et postica ex parte nudatus accedit subdit insidit. Lascivia deinde surientis adsumpta huc atque illuc clunes torquet et meditatur ab ligno pati quod iam dudum in veritate promiserat.

[158] Heraclitus fr. 127 Bywater, 15 Diels. This is also cited by Clement, *Protr.* 2.34.5.

[159] On the persecutions, see also 1.26, 1.65, 2.5, 2.77 f., 3.36, 4.36, 5.29, and 6.27.

[160] The disastrous effect of such mythological rot on the impressionable youth is also pointed out by Tatian 22; Minucius 23.8.

[161] *Toga praetexta*, the garment worn by women and children and abandoned by boys upon assuming the *toga virilis*, had a colored border. Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.6; F. W. Goethert, "toga" no. 2, *RE* 2.R., 6 (1937) 1651-60.

[162] Arnobius is fond of compounding the felony by citing one example and then expanding it to a plural.

[163] His sister-daughter Proserpina is meant.

[164] Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 590 f.:

> At quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit
> Ego humuncio hoc non facerem? facerem ego illud vero itidem ac lubens.

Cf. also Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 2. 7.

[165] The same four Latin words begin 5. 28.

[166] See Book One, n. 132.

[167] Here is a doubtful instance of *virtutes,* either 'virtues' or 'powers.' See Book One, n. 210.

[168] *Caducus,* 'falling,' 'transitory,' 'destined to die' (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 10. 622) is a favorite word with Arnobius.

[169] Throughout the quotation, the pronoun 'you' is singular. In all ages city folk, arrogating to themselves the virtues of cultivation, have looked upon their country contemporaries as ignorant. Cf. the adjective 'urbane' (from Latin *urbanus,* 'citified') and 'boorish' (from Dutch-Afrikans Boer = 'farmer'). One would like also to derive 'astute' from ἄστυ ('city') and 'polite' from πόλις, but these derivations are false.

[170] Cf. 4. 33; Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Recogn.* 10. 163; Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 17. 3.

[171] Here the MS reads *viraginem* where one would expect *virginem.*

[172] Here I adopt the suggestion of Wiman: *advocavere su⟨erant? an⟩ tum,* based on earlier suggestions of Reifferscheid and Castiglioni: *⟨an⟩ tum.*

[173] Wiman's earlier reading (*Textkritiska Studier till Arnobius* 47 f.): *interiore veritate coperta,* seems better than his later one (*Eranos* 45 [1947] 144 f.): *interver⟨tendae ver⟩ itati capta⟨s⟩ subdebant,* and much better than Marchesi's *inter veritate capta* which seems senseless.

[174] The allusion is to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, which was prepared to appease the gods so that they would send favorable winds for the expedition to Troy. The story of the sacrifice is presented in the *Iphigenia at Aulis,* an extant play of Euripides. In another extant play by the same, the *Iphigenia among the Taurians,* imitated by Goethe in his *Iphigenie auf Tauris,* the poet assumes that at the final moment at Aulis, Artemis substituted a stag for the body of Iphigenia which she then transported surreptitiously to one of her temples in the land of the Taurians, there to await the

coming of Iphigenia's brother Orestes as told in the second play. Cf. Achilles Tatius, *Amor.* 6.2; Ovid, *Met.* 12.34; Hyginus, *Fab.* 98. This story of substitutionary human sacrifice has its Hebrew counterpart in the story of Abraham and Isaac as told in Genesis 22.

[175] Proserpina.

[176] Hic omissa: quid exsecti arietis proles, quid satisfactio his facta.

[177] *Quid novatio et revelatio pudendorum.*

[178] Here the word 'to' (*in*) has been transposed from where it appears in the MS (*singula in singulis*) to this point. Cf. Wiman, *Eranos* 45 (1947) 132 f.

[179] Cf. 5.24 where he is the King of the Shades but is not named Summanus, as he is in 3.44, where cf. n. 272. Note the new detail here about the four-horse chariot. Cf. also F. J. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 2 (1922) 302.

[180] Reading *leg<e r>em allegorica[m] video,* with Wiman, *Eranos* 45 (1947) 145. Cf. Thörnell, *Patr.* 14.

[181] The Trojan War, dated by the ancients in the year now called 1184 B.C., is doubtless chosen as a typical event known to every one. The trial of Socrates occurred in 399 B.C.—Arnobius alludes elsewhere (4.4) and by another name to the disastrous defeat of the Romans at Cannae in 216 B.C. The proscription of L. Cornelius Sulla (82 B.C.) was the earliest occasion on which was published a list of Romans who might be put to death with impunity.

[182] In one of his earliest addresses as pleader in criminal court, Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 32.89, sarcastically compares the legalized murders of Sulla's proscriptions with the slaughter of Romans at the disastrous battles of Cannae and Lake Trasimenus.

[183] Coxe (*ANF* 6.542, elucid. 5) maintains that the bronze pine cone which now gives its name to the *Giardino della Pigna* in the Vatican was originally used in the ceremonials of the Magna Mater, but the best evidence goes to show that the cone was intended to be a fountain. See W. Helbig, with W. Amelung, E. Reisch, and F. Weege, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* 1 (3rd ed. Leipzig 1912) 71-3, no. 120; W. Amelung-H. Holtsinger, *The Museums and Ruins of Rome* 1 (New York 1906) 58.

[184] The MS says 'mother goddess.' Meursius, Orelli, and Reifferscheid, change 'goddess' to 'of the gods' (*deum*), as elsewhere in this Book. Cf. 5.7, 5.16.

[185] Arnobius here evidently confuses the family of the Nebridae on the island of Cos, which claimed to be descendants of Aesculapius,

with the *nebrizontes,* wearers of the fawnskin (*nebris*) in the Dionysiac cult. See Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* 1: *Theogonie und Götter* (Berlin 1894) 695 n. 1, 715; E. Wüst, *RE* 16 (1935) 2156.

[186] Cf. the opening words of 5.34.

[187] Bryce-Campbell wrongly make this sentence declarative and assigns it to the adversary.

[188] Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 6.2.

[189] See above, 5.6 and n. 36.

[190] The best-known account of the Phaethon myth—of the privilege rashly asked of his father to drive the chariot of the sun for one day, and his tragic undoing—is by Ovid, *Met.* 1.747-2.332. The myth was dramatized by Aeschylus and Euripides. Cf. G. Türk, *RE* 19 (1938) 1508-15.

[191] Quid enim subiciemus pro illis fluctibus, quos super aggerem tumuli Semeleiae subolis urigo contorsit?

[192] Cf. 4.26, 5.22, 7.33.

[193] Cf. 4.26 and n. 197.

[194] The allusion is to the Leda story.

[195] An affair with Antiope, a Maenad, daughter of Nycteus. Cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 1 (Cambridge 1914) 735-9, who points out that only Roman authors represent Zeus in this instance as appearing in the form of a satyr.

[196] Alluding to the Danae story.

[197] *Addidistis garo gerem:* an epigrammatic phrase, in which *garum* or *garon* designates a rich, pungent sauce prepared of certain tiny fish, especially Spanish mackerel (cf. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 31.93; Horace, *Serm.* 2.8.46), and *ger(r)es,* a cheap salted fish (cf. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 32.148). Hence, the addition of the latter could only deteriorate the former—an excellent thing is cheapened or spoiled by contamination with a worthless thing.

## BOOK SIX

In Book Six Arnobius begins by defending the Christians from the specific charge of showing disrespect to the pagan gods in building to them no shrines, erecting no images or altars, and presenting no offerings of blood sacrifice, incense, salted meal, and libations of wine. The defense, which seems to Rapisarda (*Clemente* 12) suggestive of Justin Martyr and Minucius Felix, is that true gods would